A SELECT COLLECTION

OF THE MOST

INTERESTING LETTERS

ON THE

GOVERNMENT, LIBERTY, and CONSTITUTION of ENGLAND;

Which have appeared in the different News-papers from the *Elevation* of Lord Bute to the death of the earl of Egremont.

WITH

All the AUTHENTIC PAPERS relative to the NORTH BRITON and the CASE of Mr. WILKES; and the LETTERS between Mr. PITT and Mr. ALLEN.

CAREFULLY

EXAMINED and CORRECTED.

VOL III.

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M.DCC.LXIII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

The following letters, &c. are genuine, and the originals of ſome of them are in the poſſeſſion of the earl of HALIFAX. *They are preſented to the public, becauſe they bear an immediate relation to the* NORTH BRITON, *although they relate to a paper of the 21ſt of Auguſt* 1762.

LETTERS.

MR. Secker preſents his compliments to mr. Wilkes, he has been three times at his houſe to wait on him from lord Talbot. mr. Secker would be obliged to mr. Wilkes to let him know by a note directed to him at mr. Holford's St. James's Palace, where and what time mr. Secker could ſpeak to him this afternoon. If he does not hear from mr. Wilkes, will wait on him by nine o'clock to-morrow morning at his houſe.

Sept. 10. half an hour paſt two o'clock."

Directed to John Wilkes, Eſq;

" Mr. Wilkes's compliments to mr. Secker, was not acquainted till this minute by this note, that mr. Secker had once called in Great George-ſtreet, ſhall be at home from ſeven till eight this evening, and as mr. Wilkes ſhall be alone, he ſuppoſes at this meeting mr. Secker will bring no company."

Friday afternoon,

Great George ſtreet, Five, Sept. 10.

Directed to

Mr. Secker, at Mr. Holford's, St. James's Palace.

" Mr. Secker's compliments to mr. Wilkes, he will wait on him alone this evening between ſeven and eight."

St. James's.

Directed to

John Wilkes, Eſq;

SIR,

" As I have received no anſwer to a letter I wrote to you on the 25th of Auguſt, and find by ſending to your houſe in town that I can have no immediate opportunity of ſeeing you, I am forced again by a letter to aſk if you avow or diſclaim being author of the paper entitled the North Briton of the 21ſt of Auguſt."

TALBOT.

Bolton-ſtreet. *Directed to*

Sept. 10. 1762. Col. Wilkes.

Great George-ſtreet, Friday Sept. 10.

My Lord,

" I beg your lordſhip to do me the juſtice to believe that I have never yet received the letter to me at Wincheſter, which mr. Secker tells me was ſent there a fortnight ago. I have juſt now the honour of your lordſhip's by that gentleman. Your lordſhip aſks if I avow or diſclaim being author of the paper entitled the North Briton of the 21ſt of Auguſt. My anſwer is, that I muſt firſt inſiſt on knowing your lordſhip's right to catechiſe me about an anonymous paper. If your lordſhip is not ſatisfied with this, I ſhall ever be ready to give your

your lordſhip any other ſatisfaction becoming me as a gentleman."

I am, my lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
Directed to JOHN WILKES.
Earl Talbot.

Wincheſter, Sept. 14 1762.

My Lord.

" I left Wincheſter, with lord Effingham's leave, on the ſecond of Auguſt, and did not return to this city till the 12th of this month. My drum-major brought me your lordſhip's letter yeſterday. I now return it with the ſeal unbroke, as the cleareſt demonſtration that I never have read the contents of it. I ſuppoſe they are the ſame with the letter I had the honour of receiving and anſwering by mr. Secker."

I am, my lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
Directed to JOHN WILKES.
Earl Talbot.

S I R,

" I ſuppoſe you have by this time found the letter I wrote directed to you at Wincheſter, and that hath acquainted you why I addreſſed myſelf to mr. Wilkes, to enquire if The North Briton of the 21ſt of Auguſt was written by him. I well know every gentleman who contributes to ſupport periodical papers by his pen, is not anſwerable for all the papers that appear under the title of that which

he aſſiſts, but I cannot conceive that any man ſhould refuſe to aſſure a perſon who hath been the object of the wit of any paper, that he was not the author of a paper he did not write. Every man's ſenſe of honour ought to direct his conduct, if you prefer a perſonal engagement to the denying being the author of a paper that hath been ſo free with my name; I who am publickly affronted by that paper, cannot in honour avoid requiring the ſatisfaction you ſeem moſt deſirous to give. Be pleaſed to write or ſend to me as ſoon as you have determined what part you will act. I ſhall be in London Thurſday and Friday next, and this day ſe'nnight, after which I ſhall not be in London till Thurſday the 23d."

I am, Sir, your humble ſervant.

TALBOT.

Bolton-ſtreet,
Sept. 12. 1762,

Directed to
Col. Wilkes.

Wincheſter, Sept. 16. 1762.

My Lord,

" I had not till yeſterday the honour of your lordſhip's letter of the 12th, and embrace this earlieſt opportunity of acknowledging it. Your lordſhip has not yet, in my poor idea, aſcertained the right you claim of interrogating me about the paper of the 21ſt of Auguſt, and I will firſt know the very good authority on which I am thus queſtioned, before I will return any anſwer whatever.

Your lordſhip deſires me to write or ſend to you as ſoon as I have determined what part

I ſhall act. I intended my firſt letter ſhould have made that ſufficiently clear."

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordſhip's very humble ſervant,
Directed to JOHN WILKES.
Earl Talbot.

SIR,

" I have this inſtant received your's of the 16th. It is your own declaration before men of truth and honour that you occaſionally aſſiſted the paper called The North Briton with your pen, that is the foundation of my interrogating you about the North Briton of the 21ſt of Auguſt—and whatever may be your idea, mine is that when a gentleman owns himſelf an occaſional author of an anonymous ſatirical paper, any perſon by name ridiculed in ſuch an hebdomadal performance hath a right to aſk the occaſional avowed writer, if he was the author of the offending paper.

You may now, ſir, anſwer my queſtion or not, I have offered to put myſelf upon that footing with you that became a man who hath ſpirit, and is influenced by honour—if you do not deny the paper I muſt and will conclude you wrote it."

Your humble ſervant,
TALBOT.

Bolton-ſtreet,
Sept. 17. 1762.

Directed to
Col. Wilkes.

Winchester, Sept. 21. 1762.

My Lord,

" Sunday's post brought me your lordship's of the 17th, and by the return of it this waits on your lordship.

You are pleased to say that it is my own declaration before men of truth and honour that I occasionally assisted the paper called The North Briton. I wish your lordship had been more explicit, and had mentioned the name of any one gentleman before whom I made that declaration. Was it made in public? or was it in private conversation? Still I have the misfortune of not yet seeing your lordship's right of putting the question to me about the paper of the 21st of August, and till I do, I will never resolve your lordship on that head, though I would any friend I have in the world, who had the curiosity of asking me, if it was in a civil manner.

Your lordship says that if I do not deny the paper, you must and will conclude I wrote it. Your lordship has my free consent to make any conclusions you think proper, whether they are well or ill grounded; and I feel the most perfect indifference about what they are, or the consequences of them.

I intend at present to make a tour on Thursday to the isle of Wight. I shall return to this city the beginning of the next week."

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

Directed to most humble servant,

Earl Talbot. JOHN WILKES.

Winchester,

Wincheſter, Sept. 30. 1762.

SIR,

" Lord Talbot by your meſſage has at laſt brought this moſt important queſtion to the preciſe point, where my firſt anſwer to his lordſhip fixed it, if he preferred that. As you have only ſeen the two laſt letters, I muſt entreat you to caſt your eye over thoſe preceding, becauſe I apprehend they will juſtify an obſervation or two I made this morning, when I had the honour of paying my compliments to you at camp.

Be aſſured that if I am between heaven and earth, I will be on Tueſday evening at Tilbury's the Red Lion at Bagſhot, and on Wedneſday morning will play this duet with his lordſhip.

It is a real ſatisfaction to me that his lordſhip is to be accompanied by a gentleman of colonel Berkley's worth and honour.

This will be delivered to you by my adjutant, who attends me to Bagſhot. I ſhall not bring any ſervant with me, from the fear of any of the parties being known. My piſtols only, or his lordſhip's, at his option, ſhall decide this point.

I beg the favour of you to return me the letters, as I mean to leave Wincheſter this evening. I have lord Bruce's leave of abſence for ten days."

I am, with ſincere regard, Sir,
your very humble ſervant,
JOHN WILKES.

I hope that we may make a *partie quarrée* for ſupper on Tueſday at Bagſhot.

Directed to

Colonel Berkely.

SIR,

" I have read all the letters and ſhall depend upon the pleaſure of ſupping with you at Tilbury's the Red Lion at Bagſhot Tueſday evening. My ſervant will attend me as the going alone would give room for ſuſpicion but you may depend upon his following your direction at Bagſhot, and that he ſhall not be ſeen where you would not have him---I am much obliged by your favourable opinion, and am,

Your very humble ſervant,

Camp near Winchester, Sept. 30. 1762 N. BERKELEY.

Incloſed is the copy of a letter received by Mr. Stanley this afternoon. [It related to the taking of the Havannah.]

Directed to

Colonel Wilkes.

The following are the papers relative to the caſe of Mr Wilkes.

MAGNA CHARTA,

Cap. 29.

NULLUS Liber Homo *capiatur*, vel *impriſonetur*, aut *diſſeiſiatur*, de libero tenemento ſuo, vel LIBERTATIBUS, vel LIBERIS CONSUETUDINIBUS SUIS, aut utlageter, aut exulet, aut *aliquo modo deſtruatur*. Nec ſuper eum *ibimus*, nec *ſuper eum mittemus* niſi per

per legale judicium parium ſuorum, vel per *legem Terre.* *

As the apprehenſion, and Commitment of John Wilkes, eſq; Member of Parliament, to the Tower, muſt have raiſed the curioſity of many people, to know the circumſtances attending it, the following detail of ſimple facts (upon which every reader will make his own comments) cannot be unſeaſonable, and are perhaps abſolutely neceſſary to be laid before the public.

On Saturday the 30th of April, 1763, early in the forenoon, three of his majeſty's meſſengers, by virtue of a warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate, ſeized on the perſon of the ſaid John Wilkes, eſq; Member of Parliament; of which warrrant the following is a true copy.

L. S.

George Montague Dunk earl of Halifax viſcount Sunbury and baron Halifax one of the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council lieutenant general of his majeſty's forces and principal ſecretary of ſtate.

Theſe are in his majeſty's name to authorize and require you (taking a conſtable to your aſſiſtance) to make ſtrict

* No freeman *may be apprehended*, or *impriſoned*, or *diſsciſſed* of his freehold, or LIBERTIES, or FREE CUSTOMS, or be out lawed or baniſhed, or *any wiſe deſtroyed.* Nor *will we paſs upon him*, nor *condemn him*, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the *law of the land.*

ſtrict and diligent ſearch for the authors printers and publiſhers of a ſeditious and treaſonable paper intitled the North Briton Number XLV Saturday April 23 1763 printed for G. Kearſly in Ludgate Street London and them or any of them having found to apprehend and ſieze together with their papers and to bring in ſafe cuſtody before me to be examined concerning the premiſes and further dealt with according to law And in the due execution thereof all mayors ſheriffs juſtices of the peace conſtables and all other his majeſty's officers civil and military and loving ſubjects whom it may concern are to be aiding and aſſiſting to you as there ſhall be occaſion and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant Given at St. James's the twenty-ſixth day of April in the third year of his majeſty's reign

ſigned

directed to Dunk Halifax

Nathan Carrington John Money
James Watſon and Robert Blackmore
Four of his majeſty's meſſengers in ordinary

N. B. The officers had a *verbal* order to put this warrant in execution by entering forcibly into the houſe of John Wilkes, eſq; Member of Parliament at midnight; and thoſe officers are now threatned with the loſs of their places for not complying with ſuch *verbal* inſtructions.

On

On the intimation of mr. Wilkes member of Parliament being in cuſtody, a motion was made in the court of common pleas then ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall for a Habeas-Corpus, which was granted; though by reaſon of the Prothonotory's office not being open, ſuch Habeas Corpus could not be ſued out till four o'clock in the afternoon.

Several gentlemen, friends and acquaintance of the ſaid John Wilkes eſq; Member of Parliament applied, for admittance into his houſe, which was then peremptorily refuſed by a *pretended* order from the ſecretary of ſtate; which order, though repeatedly requeſted, was not or could not be produced.

As no proper or *legal* authority appeared to countenance ſuch refuſal, the gentlemen thought themſelves no ways obliged to obey the *verbal* commands of officers acting only under a *verbal* authority; and entered accordingly without further queſtion or moleſtation from *thoſe* officers.

Mr. Wood, the deputy ſecretary of ſtate, being ſent for, demanded the reaſon of ſuch *forcible* entry: It was replied that *no* force had been uſed, and that the gentlemen thought themſelves *legally* juſtified in what they had done.

Soon after this (whether ſent for or not, does not appear) Phillip Carteret Webb, eſq; ſolicitor to the treaſury, came into the room, and ſome *private* converſation between him and mr. Wood having paſt, the latter aſked, if any gentleman then preſent would attend or inſpect the officers while they were ſealing

up

up all papers in the houſe of mr. Wilkes; or uſed words to that or the like effect.

Mr. Wilkes having declined accepting of the like offer, no perſon then preſent thought himſelf authorized to take upon him ſuch inſpection.

Notwithſtanding it was known, that the court of common pleas had granted an Habeas Corpus, of which fact, Philip Carteret Webb, eſq; ſolicitor to the treaſury, at that time at lord Halifax's, was then well aſſured; yet was the ſaid John Wilkes, eſq; Member of Parliament, committed to the Tower of London.

His ſolicitor and one of his council, ſoon after they heard of ſuch commitment, went to the Tower, in order to conſult with the ſaid John Wilkes, about the *legal* methods to be purſued for his enlargement; but were denied admittance; major Ransford informing them, that he had received *orders* from the *ſecretary* of *ſtate*, not to admit *any perſon whatſoever*, to ſpeak with or ſee the ſaid John Wilkes: and further informed them, that he had juſt before refuſed the right honourable the earl Temple ſuch admittance.

On Sunday, May the firſt, the ſame gentlemen, between the hours of twelve and one, called *again* upon major Ransford, on the ſame occaſion; but were *again* denied admittance, as were ſoon after many noblemen, and gentlemen of the firſt diſtinction, and mr. Wilkes's *own* Brother.

And

After ſuch denial, mr. Wilkes's ſolicitor demanded of the major a copy of the warrant, under which mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower; which was readily granted by the major, and of which the following is a true copy.

Charles earl of Egremont and George Dunk earl of Halifax lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council and principal ſecretaries of ſtate

Theſe are in his majeſty's name to authorize and require you to receive into your cuſtody the body of John Wilkes eſq. herewith ſent you for being the author and publiſher of a moſt infamous and ſeditious libel intitled the North Briton number 45 tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty and to excite them to traiterous inſurrections againſt the government And to keep him ſafe and Cloſe untill he ſhall be delivered by due courſe of law and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant Given at St. James's the 30 day of April 1763 in the third year of his majeſty's reign.

ſigned

Egremont L. S.

Dunk Halifax L. S.

To the right hon. John Lord Berkeley of Stratton conſtable of his majeſty's Tower of London or to the lieutenant of the ſaid Tower or his deputy

Philip Carteret Web; eſq; Solicitor to the Treaſury then being preſent in the ſaid major Ransford's room, mr. Wilkes's council and ſolicitor applied to the ſaid mr. Webb for admittance to the ſaid mr. Wilkes.

Philip Carteret Webb eſq; deſired major Ransford to allow ſuch admittance, which he would indemnify; the major, with a ſpirit becoming a good officer, replied, he could not diſobey orders.

Philip Carteret Webb eſq; re-anſwered, he believed there muſt have been a miſtake in the orders, and that, if either of the ſecretaries of ſtate were in town, he would apply to them, and obtain ſuch admittance as aforeſaid, and that he would either ſend or bring an order for ſuch admittance in the afternoon.

Upon this aſſertion, the ſaid mr. Wilkes's counſel and ſolicitor between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of the ſame day, again went to the Tower, and applied for admittance as aforeſaid. The major having received no inſtructions from either of the ſecretaries of ſtate, or Philip Carteret Webb eſq; refuſed as before.

On the morning of Monday, the ſecond of May, the court of common pleas ordered a return to their writ of Habeas Corpus, which return not then appearing to the court to be ſufficient, the court ordered, that the ſaid return ſhould not at preſent be filed; but upon motion granted another Habeas Corpus directed to the conſtable and ſo forth of the Tower of London.

Mr. Wilkes's ſolicitor and counſel the ſame day, between the hours of two and three, again went

went to the Tower, and made application to major Ransford for admittance to the ſaid John Wilkes eſq; but were refuſed ſuch admittance, major Ransford declaring that he had received no orders from either of the ſecretaries of ſtate to that purpoſe. There appeared upon the table of the ſaid major Ranſford a written order for him to take down the names of all perſons applying for admittance to colonel Wilkes.

MAGNA EST VERITAS.

ORDERS *iſſued by the lieutenant Governor of the Tower, reſpecting the detention of John Wilkes Eſq;*

That the warders appointed to keep a cloſe priſoner, ſhall not preſume to leave him for a moment alone, either night or day, or to change their duty with other warders, but by particular leave or order from the conſtable, lieutenant, deputy lieutenant, or in their abſence the major of the Tower.

They are to permit no perſon to have admittance into the room he is confined in, or to ſpeak to him but by a particular order brought them by the major or gentleman goaler.

On the morning of Tueſday May 3. Mr. Wilkes was brought to the Bar of the Court of Common Pleas, *Weſtminſter, where he made the following ſpeech.*

" I FEEL, myſelf happy to be at laſt brought before a court, and before judges, whoſe characteriſtic is the love of liberty. I have

many humble thanks to return for the immediate order you were pleaſed to iſſue, to give me an opportunity of laying my grievances before you. They are of a kind hitherto unparalleled in this free country, and I truſt the conſequences will teach miniſters of Scottiſh and arbitrary principles, that the liberty of an Engliſh ſubject is not to be ſported away with impunity, in this cruel and deſpotic manner.

" I am accuſed of being the author of the North Briton, No. 45. I ſhall only remark upon that paper that it takes all load of accuſation from the ſacred name of a prince, whoſe family I love and honour, as the glorious defenders of the cauſe of liberty, and whoſe perſonal qualities are ſo amiable, great, and reſpectable, that he is deſervedly the idol of his people. It is the peculiar faſhion and crime of theſe times, and of thoſe who hold high miniſterial offices in government, to throw every odious charge from themſelves upon majeſty. The author of this paper, whoever he may be, has, upon conſtitutional principles, done directly the reverſe, and is therefore in me, the ſuppoſed author, meant to be perſecuted accordingly. The particular cruelties of my treatment, worſe than if I had been a Scottiſh rebel, this court will hear, and I dare ſay, from your juſtice, in due time redreſs.

" I may perhaps ſtill have the means left me to ſhew that I have been ſuperior to every temptation of corruption. They may indeed have flattered themſelves, that when they found corruption could not prevail, perſecution might

intimidate

intimidate. I will ſhew myſelf ſuperior to both. My papers have been ſeized, perhaps with a hope the better to deprive me of that proof of their meanneſs, and corrupt prodigality, which it may poſſibly, in a proper place, be yet in my power to give."

He then pleaded by his council, mr. Serjeant Glynn, for his diſcharge, alledging that his commitment was not valid. The debate laſted from eleven o'clock till a quarter paſt two; when after ſeveral learned arguments on both ſides, he was remanded back to the Tower; and his friends had, for the firſt time, the opportunity of acceſs to him.——At his departure from the hall, the acclamations of the people were, Liberty! Liberty! Wilkes for ever, and no Exciſe! The court then adjourned to Friday the 6th of May, at which time he was ordered to be brought up again, that the affair might be finally determined.

His friends now had the liberty of viſiting him; and perhaps no priſoner in the Tower of London ever before, was attended by ſuch an illuſtrious train of viſitors.

During this reſpite his majeſty was pleaſed to iſſue orders to lord Egremont, to remove him from his poſt of colonel in the militia of the county of Buckingham, which was ſignified to him in the following letter.

Copy of a letter from the earl of Egremont *to the earl* Temple.

My Lord,

THE king having judged it improper, that John Wilkes, eſq; ſhould any longer continue to be colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham, I am commanded to ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure to your lordſhip, that you do forthwith give the neceſſary orders for diſplacing mr. Wilkes, as an officer in the militia for the ſaid county of Buckingham.

I am, with reſpect,
My Lord,
Whitehall, Your lordſhip's moſt obedient
May 4, 1763. humble ſervant,
To the earl Temple EGREMONT.

Letter from the earl Temple *to* John Wilkes, *eſq*;

SIR,

AT my return laſt night from Tower, I received the encloſed letter from the earl of Egremont: in conſequence of his majeſty's commands therein ſignifyed, you will pleaſe to obſerve, that you no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham.

I cannot, at the ſame time, help expreſſing the concern I feel in the loſs of an officer, by his deportment in command, endeared to the whole corps.

I am, Sir
Your moſt obedient,
Pall-Mall, And moſt humble ſervant,
May 5, 1763. TEMPLE.
To John Wilkes, eſq;

Copy

Copy of a letter from John Wilkes, *esq; to the earl* Temple.

My Lord,

I HAVE this moment the honour of your lordſhip's letter, ſignifying his majeſty's commands, that I ſhould no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham. I have only to return your lordſhip my warmeſt thanks for the ſpirit and zeal you have ſhewn in the ſupport of that conſtitutional meaſure from the very beginning. Your lordſhip will pleaſe to remember, that I was among the foremoſt who offered their ſervices to their country at that criſis. Buckinghamſhire is ſenſible, and has always acknowledged, that no man but your lordſhip could have given ſucceſs to that meaſure in our inland county. I am proud of the teſtimonyyour lordſhip is pleaſed to give me, and am happy, in theſe days of peace, to leave ſo amiable a corps in that perfect harmony, which has from the beginning ſubſiſted.

I have the honour to be,
With unfeigned reſpect,
My Lord,
Tower, Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
May 5, 1763. and moſt humble ſervant,
JOHN WILKES.

To the earl Temple.

[A few days after the earl Temple was diſmiſſed from the lieutenancy of the county of Bucks, and the lord Le Deſpencer appointed in his room; who conſtituted, appointed, and made *himſelf* colonel of the Buckinghamſhire militia.]

ANGLIÆ JURA in omni Caſu LIBERTATI dant Favorem.

Impius et Crudelis judicandus eſt qui LIBERTATI non favet.

Coke Littleton.

On Friday the 6th of May mr. Wilkes was brought up from the Tower to the bar of the court of common pleas, where (as ſoon as the court was ſeated) he made the following ſpeech:

My Lords,

"FAR be it from me to regret that I have paſſed ſo many more days in captivity, as it will have afforded you an opportunity of doing, upon mature reflection, and repeated examination, the more ſignal juſtice to my country. The liberty of all peers and gentlemen, and what touches me more ſenſibly, that of all the middling and inferior claſs of people, who ſtand moſt in need of protection, is in my caſe this day to be finally decided upon: a queſtion of ſuch importance as to determine at once whether Engliſh liberty be a reality or a ſhadow. Your own freeborn hearts will feel with indignation and compaſſion all that load of oppreſſion under which I have ſo long labour-ed. Cloſe impriſonment, the effect of premeditated malice; all acceſs for more than two days denied to me; my houſe ranſacked and plundered; my moſt private and ſecret concerns divulged: every vile and malignant inſinuation, even of high treaſon itſelf, no leſs induſtriouſly than falſely circulated, by my

my cruel and implacable enemies, together with all the various inſolence of office, form but a part of my unexampled ill treatment. Such inhuman principles of ſtar-chamber tyrranny will, I truſt, by this court, upon this ſolemn occaſion, be finally extirpated, and henceforth every innocent man, however poor and unſupported, may hope to ſleep in peace and ſecurity in his own houſe, unviolated by king's meſſengers, and the *arbitrary mandates* of an overbearing ſecretary of ſtate.

" I will no longer delay your juſtice. The nation is impatient to hear, nor can be ſafe or happy, till that is obtained. If the ſame perſecution is after all to carry me before another court, I hope I ſhall find that the genuine ſpirit of Magna Charta, that glorious inheritance, that diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of Engliſhmen, is as religiouſly revered *there*, as I know it is *here*, by the great perſonages, before whom I have now the happineſs to ſtand; and (as in the ever-memorable caſe of the *impriſoned biſhops*) an independent *jury* of free-born Engliſhmen, that will perſiſt to determine my fate, as in conſcience bound, upon conſtitutional principles, by a verdict of *guilty* or *not guilty*. I aſk no more at the hands of *my countrymen*."

After which the court proceeded to give their opinion: and mr. Wilkes was ordered to be *diſcharged*. He then addreſſed himſelf to the court in the words following.

My

My Lords,

"GREAT as my joy muſt naturally be at the deciſion which *this court* with a true *ſpirit of liberty*, has been pleaſed to make concerning the *unwarrantable ſeizure of my perſon*, and all the other conſequential grievances, allow me to aſſure you that I feel it far leſs ſenſibly *on my own account*, than I do for *the public*. The ſufferings of *an individual* are *a trifling object*, when compared with the *whole*, and I ſhould bluſh to feel for *myſelf* in compariſon with conſiderations of a nature ſo *tranſcendently ſuperior*.

"I will not trouble you with my poor thanks. Thanks are due to you from the whole *Engliſh* nation, and from *all* the ſubjects of the *Engliſh* crown. They will be paid you together with every teſtimony of zeal and affection to *the learned ſerjeant*,* who has ſo *ably* and ſo *conſtitutionally* pleaded my cauſe, and in mine (with pleaſure I ſay it) *the cauſe of liberty*. Every teſtimony of my gratitude is juſtly due to *you*, and I take leave of *this court* with a veneration and reſpect, which no time can obliterate, nor can the moſt grateful heart ſufficiently expreſs."

When mr. Wilkes had ended, the audience burſt into an *univerſal ſhout*, which was *often* repeated. Mr. Wilkes ſtaid ſome time in a room adjoining to the court, in expectation that the crowd would diſperſe: at laſt, finding that it continually encreaſed, he

* Mr. Serjeant Glynn.

he went out of the back door of the common pleas, and was received by a prodigious multitude of people who attended him, amidſt continual acclamations, to his own houſe in Great George Street, Weſtminſter. The evening concluded with bonfires, illuminations, and other rejoicings.

VIVANT REX ET JUDICES REGIS.

On mr. Wilkes's return home from the court of common pleas, he ſent the following letter to the ſecretaries of ſtate.

Great George Street, May 6, 1763.

My Lords,

ON my return here from Weſtminſter-Hall, where I have been diſcharged from my commitment to the Tower under your lordſhips warrant, I find that my houſe has been robb'd, and am inform'd that the ſtolen goods are in the poſſeſſion of one or both of your lordſhips. I therefore inſiſt that you do forthwith return them to

Your humble ſervant
JOHN WILKES.

Directed to
the earls of Egremont and Halifax, his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

[Next morning mr. Wilkes in perſon, attended only by mr. Grignion, of Ruſſel-Street, Covent-Garden, went to ſir John Fielding's, in Bow-Street, and demanded a warrant to ſearch the houſes of the earls of Egremont

Egremont and Halifax, his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, for the goods ſtolen out of his houſe, which he had received information were lodged at the ſaid houſes of the ſecretaries of ſtate or one of them John Spinnage, eſq; the ſitting juſtice, refuſed to iſſue the ſaid warrant.]

The next day mr. Wilkes received the following anſwer to his letter.

Great George Street, May 7, 1763.

SIR,

IN anſwer to your letter of yeſterday, in which you take upon you to make uſe of the *indecent* and *ſcurrilous* expreſſions of your having found *your houſe had been robbed*, and that *the ſtolen goods are in our poſſeſſion*: we acquaint you that your papers were ſeized in conſequence of the heavy charge brought againſt you, for being the author of an infamous and ſeditious libel, tending to inflame the minds, and alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty, and excite them to traiterous inſurrections againſt the government; for which libel, notwithſtanding your diſcharge from your commitment to the Tower, his majeſty has ordered you to be proſecuted, by his attorney general.

We are at a loſs to gueſs what you mean by *ſtolen goods*; but ſuch of your papers as do not lead to a proof of your guilt, ſhall be reſtored to you; ſuch as are neceſſary for that purpoſe, it was our duty to deliver over to thoſe, whoſe office it is to collect the evi-

dence

dence, and manage the profecution againſt you.

We are

Your humble ſervants,

Egremont.

Dunk Halifax.

Directed to

Mr. Wilkes.

To this anſwer he ſent the following reply, viz.

Great George Street, May 9,

My Lords, 1763.

LITTLE did I expect, when I was requiring from your lordſhips what an Engliſhman has a right to, his property taken from him; and ſaid to be in your lordſhips poſſeſſion, that I ſhould have received, in anſwer, from perſons in your high ſtation, the expreſſions of indecent and ſcurrillous applied to my legal demands. The reſpect I bear to his majeſty, whoſe ſervants it ſeems you ſtill are, though you ſtand legally convicted of having in me violated, in the higheſt and moſt offenſive manner, the liberties of all the commons of England, prevents my returning you an anſwer in the ſame Billingſgate language. If I conſidered you only in your private capacities, I ſhould treat you both according to your deſerts: but where is the wonder that men, who have attacked the ſacred liberty of the ſubject, and have iſſued an illegal warrant to ſieze his property, ſhould proceed to ſuch libellous expreſſions? You ſay "that ſuch of my papers ſhall be reſtored to me, as do not lead to a proof of my guilt.'

I owe this to your apprehenſion of an action, not to your love of juſtice; and in that light, if I can believe your lordſhips' aſſurances, the whole will be returned to me. I fear neither your proſecution, nor your perſecution; and I will aſſert the ſecurity of my own houſe, the liberty of my perſon, and every right of the people, not ſo much for my own ſake, as for the ſake of every one of my Engliſh fellow ſubjects.

I am,
my lords,
your humble ſervant,
JOHN WILKES.

Directed to
the earls of Egremont and Halifax,
his majeſty's principal ſecretaries
of ſtate.

[To theſe papers we ſhall ſubjoin the following one; as it alſo relates to the North Briton.]

Extract from an AFFIDAVIT, *examined by the* Office Copy.

AND this deponent, Peregrine Cuſt, for himſelf ſaith that he hath particularly attended to and conſidered the following paragraph or parts of the ſaid annexed paper, A, called the North Briton, beginning at the 28th line of the third page thereof (fol. 249) and from thence to the word friends, in the fourth line of the following page, fol. 250, and which is, or are, expreſſed in the words and figures or to the effect following, that is

to

to ſay " let us now conſider another ſtriking " inſtance of the total diſregard of œcono- " my : I mean the preſent loan of 3,500,000 *l.* " The terms of the new ſubſcription have " been ſo injurious to the public, but ſo be- " neficial to the ſubſcribers, that is, to the " creatures of the miniſter, that there was " immediately an advance of ſeven per cent. " and in a very few days, of above eleven per " cent : I ſhall however, only ſtate it at the " even round ſum of ten per cent, that I " may not puzzle the chancellor of the ex- " chequer. The whole loan amounted to " 3,500,000 *l.* conſequently in the period of " a very few days the miniſter gave among his " creatures, and the tools of his power, " 350,000 *l.* which was levied on the pub- " lic : the moſt enormous ſum ever divided " in ſo ſhort a time among any ſet of men. " A few of their names I will mention to ſhew " in what eſtimation they are held by the " public Meſſieurs Touchet Glover Cuſt " (brother to the able and impartial ſpeaker) " Amyand Maygens Salvador Colebroke " Thornton and Muilman had each 200, " 000 *l.* of the new ſubſcription and of " courſe, almoſt immediatelycleared 20,000*l.* " each which they have or have not ſhared " among their friends." And this deponent further ſaith that he hath alſo read over and conſidered the ſimilar paragraphs or parts of the ſaid reprinted copy of the ſaid paper, called the North Briton as the ſame appeared to be expreſſed in the ſaid reprinted copy of the ſame in the ſaid annexed book called the Political Controverſy as the

ſame are therein ſet forth beginning at the twelfth line of the page or folio in the ſaid book marked 377 at the like words "Let us now conſider." and ending at the word "*friends*" in the ſixth line of the page following or folio marked 378 of the ſame book. And this deponent ſaith that he doth apprehend and think himſelf prejudiced and injured in his character and credit in his buſineſs as a merchant of the city of London by the aſperſions and inſinuations reſpectively contained in the ſaid ſeveral parts or paragraphs before mentioned and ſpecified of the ſaid paper called the North Briton and the reprinted copy thereof in the ſaid book called the Political Controverſy ſo far as the ſame do reſpectively mention and relate to the perſon in the ſaid paper and reprinted copy reſpectively mentioned by the name of *Cuſt* and that the ſaid papers do reſpectively contain in the opinion and belief of this deponent very groſs defamatory and malevolent as well as falſe and unjuſt inſinuations and aſperſions on the honour character and reputation of this deponent and this deponent ſaith he is the more fully convinced that this deponent was and is the perſon meant and intended by the name of *Cuſt* incerted in the ſaid ſeveral papers before mentioned, called the North Briton and the ſaid reprinted copy thereof for that in or about the months of Auguſt and September laſt it being generally underſtood that a loan of money would be wanted for the ſervice of the public and ſupport of his majeſty's government in the ſucceeding year 1763 and it being then uncertain

what

what ſum would be wanting (on account of the uncertainty at that time whether the war would continue or not) and it being alſo apprehended that a much larger loan would be wanted by the government than afterwards was found neceſſary and it being ſuppoſed that eight millions at leaſt would be wanted for the ſaid ſervice and this deponent being deſirous of contributing ſo far as he could to the ſervice of the public by procuring among his friends and acquaintance part of the money which might be wanted for the ſaid loan for the ſervice of the government whether there ſhould be a continuation of the war or not this deponent therefore declared to and gave out among his acquaintance that he intended to offer a liſt of ſubſcriptions to the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury on account of the ſaid loan to the amount of onemillion or thereabouts and thereupon this deponent received from many perſons as well thoſe of his acquaintance as many others who this deponent knew only by reputation and character as reſponſible perſons letters offering the ſums with they were reſpectively willing to ſubſcribe and which they deſired to be included in this deponent's liſt and this deponent did accordingly incert in his ſaid liſt indiſcriminately the names of all the perſons who ſo deſired to become ſubſcribers in this deponent's ſaid liſt (they being all perſons who in this deponent's judgment were able and reſponſible perſons) and the reſpective ſums which they ſeverally deſired to have incerted and were deſirous of ſubſcribing were accordingly incerted in their reſpective names in the

ſaid liſt and no perſon who deſired to have any part of the ſaid ſubſcription was omitted or left out of this deponent's ſaid liſt in regard this deponent looked on the ſaid loan in the nature of a public ſubſcription and as what was likely to be a real ſervice, and benefit to the public and this deponent ſaith that in or about the month of January laſt and long before the terms of the ſaid loan were known and before it could be poſſibly known whether the terms thereof would prove advantageous to the ſubſcribers or not this deponent delivered in his ſaid liſt for the conſideration of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury and that in the ſaid liſt ſo delivered in amounting to one million and twenty four thouſand pounds or thereabouts were included the names of all and every perſon who had wrote to this deponent deſiring to be included in this deponent's liſt with the ſums by them deſired to be ſubſcribed whether they were of this deponent's acquaintance or ſtrangers (as many of them in fact were to this deponent, except by character as to their abilities) in order to their being eventually admitted as ſharers of the ſaid loan. And this deponent ſaith that above four-fifths of the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds being the ſum allowed to this deponent on account of the ſaid liſt ſo delivered in and offered to be ſubſcribed by this deponent as aforeſaid was divided among the ſeveral perſons who had made ſuch applications to this deponent as aforeſaid and in which this deponent had no intereſt, or ſhare or profit whatſoever and that there was not any one perſon

who

who had wrote to this deponent to be in this deponent's liſt who had leſs than one fifth of the ſum which he ſo wrote for except only one perſon who had wrote to ſubſcribe twelve thouſand pounds and had two thouſand only, of the loan, to make it an even ſum and this deponent ſaith that the aſſertions contained in the ſaid two printed papers herein before mentioned and deſcribed that is to ſay in the ſaid paper called the North Briton that a ſum of three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds and in the ſaid book called the *Political Controverſy* that a ſum of fifty thouſand pounds, was given in ſuch manner as in the ſaidpapers mentioned which was levied upon the public is according to this deponent's judgment and beſt of his belief, a falſe and unjuſt miſrepreſentation inaſmuch as it was in this deponent's opinion and judgment *uncertain at the time of this deponent's delivering in his ſaid liſt as aforeſaid whether the agreement for the public loan would or would not be attended with benefit to the ſubſcribers and there was not in this deponent's judgment any probability that the ſubſcribers to the ſame would derive any large conſiderable or unreaſonable benefit from it nor was the agreement itſelf in this deponent's opinion unfair or inequitable or inadequate to the riſk run.* [*Public Advertiſer.*]

[By the laws of England, every man is ſuppoſed to be innocent, till it be proved that he is guilty, and has a right, when accuſed of any crime, to make uſe of the beſt means he can for his defence. This fundamental principle was ſo far violated in the caſe of mr. Wilkes, that, for more than two days, he

he was denied the privilege of ſeeing any perſon whatſoever. This ſurely is making an Engliſh Priſon but little better than the French Baſtile, where men are often taken up, confined, and executed, without ſo much as knowing any thing of the crime they are charged with, or ever ſeeing the face of their accuſers.

Juſtice and humanity demands that every man ſhould be allowed the advice and aſſiſtance of his friends, to clear up his character and reputation to the world. It is the buſineſs of juſtice to furniſh every opportunity, inſtead of denying it; and whenever a man is refuſed this, we can't avoid thinking that his enemies are leſs ſolicitous about the nature of his offence, than ſtudious about his deſtruction; and that ſo far from proſecuting from an equitable view, they rather proceed from motives of a nature eaſily to be gueſſed at, though not ſo ſafe to be named.

It is impoſſible for a man to make a regular defence, without the help of legal advice. Therefore to refuſe a priſoner the benefit of council, is diametrically oppoſite to the fundamental ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, which, ſo far from wanting to condemn, wiſhes nothing more than to give every advantage of proving the innocence of the unhappy culprit: for if a man is not allowed to prepare for his defence, ſentence may as well paſs upon him at once, without the uſeleſs parade and idle formality of a trial. How far this had like to have been the caſe with mr. Wilkes, let every unbiaſſed perſon decide

cide within himſelf, had not the ſpirited and patriotic efforts of lord Temple, and other noble patrons of liberty, gone hand in hand with his reſolution, ſteadineſs, and perſevering diſpoſition.

If we look through the whole courſe of mr. Wilkes's life, we ſhall find that liberty has been the governing principle of all his actions. He has always been ready to ſerve our gracious ſovereign and his family, knowing his government to be founded on liberty. His was the daring taſk to reſcue the royal perſon from ill-placed imputations, and fix them on the miniſters, who alone ought to bear the blame, nay, the puniſhment, of their unconſtitutional proceedings. He had the virtue, in theſe days of corruption, to reſiſt the moſt advantageous and lucrative offers, in order to ſeduce him to their party; and rather than aſſociate with men, who are enemies to the liberty of this country, he choſe to ſuffer the ſevereſt perſecutions.]

To John Wilkes, *Eſq. Member of Parliament for* Ayleſbury, *in the county of* Buckingham.

SIR,

I Take this public occaſion to congratulate you upon your having been committed to the Tower; and to expreſs my gratitude to you, as I am an individual of this free people, of whoſe rights and liberties you ſtand forth as a zealous aſſerter.

To ſuffer in the cauſe of virtue, and of public virtue in particular, is the higheſt merit; but believe me, ſir, miniſterial rage has done quite another thing than it intended; it has committed

committed an act, which has laid a certain foundation for tranſmitting your name to poſterity, among the claſs of patriots famous for the love of their country. The liberty of the ſubject has been attacked in your perſon; and is therefore concerned in your ſafety; and there is not a man in England who has not been converſant in bribery or corruption, or the writer or tool of ſuch, but will hereafter mention your name with love and honour.

Vain have been the attempts, and (if there be any judging with certainty of the human kind) always vain will be any attempts to, brand you with diſaffection to your ſovereign. Thoſe who know you well, muſt teſtify your loyalty, affection, and zeal for his moſt gracious majeſty, and the illuſtrious houſe of *Hanover*; and your public conduct has been conſtantly animated by revolution principles (the only ſupport of this free nation) which will never admit the glory and honour of the crown, and the proſperity and happineſs of the people, to have oppoſite or different intereſts, or that either can flouriſh while the other languiſhes; and there is not a man of ſenſe who is your oppoſer, but is in his conſcience convinced that ſuch are your principles, though he be too much warped by prejudice ariſing from private views, to allow you your juſt applauſe.

When ſuch men as you charge evil miniſters with pernicious meaſures, their trite artifice you know is to cry out that diſreſpect is levelled at the ſovereign, and the meaſures imputed to him. What is this, but in effect veſting themſelves with ſovereignty! But as

we

we all know that the prince is fenced about by our laws in ſo ſacred a manner, that it is impoſſible for him to do wrong; and that every miſconduct is therefore chargeable upon the miniſter only, who adviſes; that miniſter who tells his ſovereign that bad meaſures are imputed to him, taking ſhelter at the ſame time under his wing; this, I ſay, is the proper perſon upon whom the violation of majeſty ſhould be charged: this is he who ſhould be deemed guilty of treaſon.

It is an unhappy circumſtance which attends almoſt all princes, that from the inſtant they begin to govern, they are for ever precluded from the advantages of ſincere friendſhip, and are ſurrounded only by thoſe who act from no other motives than thoſe of ſelf-intereſt and deſign; and are under a neceſſity to conduct themſelves by the informations of ſuch. Go on then, generous ſir, to exert that honeſt and active ſpirit, which has already gained you ſo great an intereſt in the hearts of your fellow ſubjects, as by your perſeverance in public virtue will doubtleſs become univerſal: aſſert the rights of your fellow citizens, and keep a watchful and jealous eye over the ſervants of your prince, and bring into the light the iniquitous attempts of corrupt miniſters, to ſeperate the intereſt and glory of his majeſty from the proſperity and happineſs of his people, or to raiſe diſtruſts between them: this will make thoſe of your fellow-ſubjects who ſhall never ſee your perſon, take pleaſure in your name, and call you their friend; and will gain you an appellation of the trueſt

and

and greateſt honour in human life, that is, a guardian of the rights of a free people.

Quere.

ADMITTING that mr. Wilkes, who writes on the ſide of freedom and his country, does deſerve the preſent rage of miniſterial obloquy, whether the bare inſpection of the liſts of new preferments in the Court Kalendar, does not make it apparent to every eye, that characters ſtrongly marked with diſſoluteneſs, irreligion, and the fouleſt immorality, are to be met with amongſt placemen, prerogative men, reſtorers of the ruined fortunes of France, robbers of Engliſhmens' right to trials by juries, and violators of privilege of parliament.

The following are the letters which paſſed between the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Allen, on the ſubject of the Bath addreſs.

Dear Sir, *Hayes, June* 2, 1763.

HAVING declined accompanying ſir John Seabright in preſenting the addreſs from Bath, tranſmitted to us jointly by the town clerk, I think it, on all accounts, indiſpenſably neceſſary that I ſhould inform you of the reaſon of my conduct. The epithet of *adequate* given to the peace, contains a deſcription of the conditions of it, ſo repugnant to my unalterable opinion concerning many of them, and fully declared by me in parliament, that it was as impoſſible for me to obey the corporation's commands in preſenting their addreſs, as it was unexpected to receive

receive ſuch a commiſſion. As to my opinion of the peace, I will only ſay that I formed it with ſincerity according to ſuch lights as my little experience and ſmall portion of underſtanding could afford me. This conviction muſt remain to myſelf the conſtant rule of my conduct; and I leave to others, with much deference to their better information, to follow their own judgment. Give me leave, my dear, good ſir, to deſire to convey, through you, to mr. mayor, and to the gentlemen of the corporation, theſe my free ſentiments; and with the juſteſt ſenſe of their paſt goodneſs towards me, plainly to confeſs that I perceive I am but ill qualified to form pretenſions to the future favour of gentlemen, who are come to think ſo differently from me, on matters of the higheſt importance to the national welfare. I am ever, with reſpectful and affectionate eſteem, my dear ſir, your faithful friend, and obliged humble ſervant. Signed W. PITT.

Lady Chatham joins with me in all compliments to the family of Prior Park.

To Ralph Allen, eſq;

My deareſt Sir, Prior Park, June 4, 1763.

IT is extremely painful to me to find by the letter which you was pleaſed to ſend to me the 2d of this month, that the word *adequate* in the Bath addreſs has been ſo very offenſive to you, as to hinder the ſincereſt and moſt zealous of your friends in the corporation from teſtifying for the future their great attachment to you.

Upon this occaſion, in juſtice to them, it is incumbent on me to acquaint you, that the exceptionable word does not reſt with them, but myſelf; who ſuddenly drew up that addreſs, to prevent their ſending of another which the mayor brought to me in terms that I could not concur in; copies of the two forms I have taken the liberty to ſend to you in the incloſed paper for your private peruſal; and ſir John Seabrigh having in his letter to mr. Clutterbuck only acquainted him, that in your abſence in the country he delivered the addreſs, I ſhall decline executing of your commands to the corporation on this delicate point, unleſs you renew them, upon your peruſal of this letter, which for ſafety I have ſent by a meſſenger, and I beg your anſwer to it by him, who has orders to wait for it.

Permit me to ſay that I have not the leaſt objection to, but, the higheſt regard and even veneration for your whole conduct; neither have I any apology to make for the expreſſion in which I am ſo unfortunate to differ from you. And with the utmoſt reſpect, affection, and gratitude, you will always find me to be, my deareſt ſir, your moſt humble and obedient ſervant. — Signed R. ALLEN.

To the right hon. mr. Pitt.

The beſt wiſhes of this family always attend lady Chatham. R. A.

My dear Sr. *Hayes, June* 5, 1763.

I AM ſorry that my letter of 2d inſt. ſhould give you uneaſineſs, and occaſion to you the trouble of ſending a meſſenger to Hayes.

I

I desire you to be assured, that few things can give me more real concern, than to find that my notions of the public good differ so widely from those of the man, whose goodness of heart and private virtues I shall ever respect and love. I am not insensible to your kind motives for wishing to interpose time for second thoughts; but knowing how much you approve an open and ingenuous proceeding, I trust that you will see the unfitness of my concealing from my constituents the insurmountable reasons, which prevented my obeying their commands in presenting an address, containing a disavowal of my opinion delivered in parliament relating to the peace. As their servant, I owe to these gentlemen an explanation of my conduct on this occasion; and as a man not forgetful of the distinguished honour of having been invited to represent them, I owe it, in gratitude, to them, not to think of embarrassing and encumbering for the future friends to whom I have such obligations; and who now view with approbation measures of an administration, founded on the subversion of that system which once procured me the countenance and favour of the city of Bath. On these plain grounds, very coolly weighed, I will venture to beg again that my equitable good friend will be so good to convey to mr. mayor and the gentlemen of the corporation my sentiments, as contained in my letter of the 2d instant.

I am ever, with unchanging sentiments of respect and affection, my dear sir, most faithfully yours. W. PITT.

My dearest Sir, Prior Park, June 9, 1763.

WITH the greatest anxiety and concern I have, in obedience to your positive and repeated commands, executed the most painful commission that I ever received.

Upon this disagreeable occasion give me leave just to say that however different our abilities may be, it is the duty of every honest man, after he has made the strictest enquiry, to act pursuant to the light which the supreme being has been pleased to dispense to him; and this being the rule that I am persuaded we both govern ourselves by, I shall take the liberty, now only to add, that it is impossible for any person to retain higher sentiments of your late glorious administration than I do, nor can be with truer fidelity, zeal, affection and respect than I have been, still am, and always shall be, my dearest sir, your most humble and most obedient servant.

Signed R. ALLEN.

To the right hon. mr. Pitt.

The best wishes of this family wait upon lady Chatham.

AS at length the REAL letters have appeared, which passed between mr. Pitt and mr. Allen, concerning mr. Allen's address for part of the corporation of Bath, I cannot, without indignation, look back on that scandalous misrepresentation of the fact, as first published in the Public Advertiser of Tuesday the 2d instant. I have sent you that paper, and desire you will at the bottom of this letter repeat that account; that, if possible, the whole world may see, to what infamous arts

the

the tools of the Scottiſh chief are reduced, in order to attempt to ſully the reputation of a man, whom this nation will with gratitude ever revere; an action ſo pitiful, and dirty as this was, I think, muſt for ever mark them, as men without either veracity, principle or honour, ſuch as the Scottiſh Jacobites were known to be, in the year 1715, when they took up arms againſt their lawful ſovereign, becauſe he would not pay to each of their chiefs the annual ſum of 360l. although they had not the leaſt ſhadow of right to it.

As I cannot affirm who were the miſrepreſenters of this affair; and who, in order to prejudice the public againſt mr. Pitt added all the epithets of aggravation, I think the printer of the Public Advertiſer ſhould be aſked, from whom he received it? and if he can, and chuſes to tell, I can hardly make a doubt but it will be found to be ſome emiſſary of the great man, at preſent behind the curtain. But I will not detain your readers any longer from this unparallelled piece; they by comparing it with the *real* letters of mr. Pitt, will inſtantly ſee, the great and material difference there is, between the pretended, inſolent, haughty and dictatoral manner in which he is miſrepreſented, by the hired ſlave; and the decency and good manners, with which he expreſſes himſelf. — Is there, therefore, a doubt, in the mind of any ſincere lover of his country, that the ſame infamous arts have been made uſe of, to prejudice him in that

very breaſt, where every true Engliſhman wiſhes him to enjoy, only his merited eſteem.

An ENGLISHMAN.

To the printer of the PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

HAVING heard the following anecdote from a perſon I can rely on, I preſent you with a ſimple relation of it, and leave others to comment upon it as they pleaſe.

A certain corporation in the weſt of England, to manifeſt their loyalty; and teſtify their approbation of the peace, drew up an addreſs to his majeſty on the occaſion, and ſent it to London, that their two repreſentatives might jointly preſent it. Sir J. S. happened to be in town; he preſented it therefore without delay, and tranſmitted a copy of it to mr. P. the other member, who was gone into the country. The laſt mentioned gentleman immediately wrote a letter to mr. A—n, the leading man in the corporation, informing him, "that gentlemen who differ ſo much from himſelf on this important ſubject of the peace, he could not think of repreſenting for the future in parliament." He concluded in very high terms, and haughty contempt of the reſpect endeavoured to be ſhewn him by the corporation. This letter mr. A—n anſwered by a ſpecial meſſenger, aſſuring him, "that whatever terms were made uſe of in that addreſs, the corporation of B. were no ways to account for; the whole having been penned by himſelf; that he endeavoured as beſt became them, to enter as little into the ſubject as decency would

would permit; but that he was led to an approbation of the peace by his beſt judgment on it, as he really thought it a very good one, as well as a very happy one for this country; that if they differed from their repreſentative in this, or any other ſubject, he thought it did not merit the treatment now received." This decent anſwer was replied to by mr. P. in a moſt imperious manner, "inſiſting on his conſtituents knowing his ſenſe of their conduct, and that his letter might be ſhewn to every one of them; that the deſcription they had given of the peace, in calling it adequate, was quite oppoſite to his ſenſe of that affair, which he had declared in parliament, and which, as far as his poor abilities would direct him, muſt be ſtill his opinion of it. And though gentlemen, who had *better right*, *and more* knowledge (alluding ironically to the corporation) might differ from him, yet, as he had conceived otherwiſe of it, he did not chuſe and did not think himſelf a proper perſon to repreſent them for the future."

The arrogant and ungrateful behaviour to mr. A—n throughout this affair, for whom the corporation have the higheſt and juſteſt eſteem, would in many minds have been a ſufficient reaſon for anſwering mr. P—'s letter in the ſtile it deſerves, and then publiſhing the whole tranſaction; but it is certain that their reſpect to mr. A—n. who thinks ſilence the beſt reply, has hitherto prevented the publication. Your's, &c.

A. G.

LET

LETTER I.

I Cannot forbear taking notice of that arrogant letter of Mr. Pitt's to the corporation of B. wherein, amongſt many other abſurdities, he not only ſays, that he can never think of repreſenting that city in parliament again, on account of its having, like many other loyal ones, addreſſed his majeſty on the peace: a peace as he ſays he warmly oppoſed in parliament; but likewiſe writes in a ſtile, as though he thought he did his conſtituents great honour in repreſenting them. Let any of his friends or followers, if they can, deny, that the preſent treaty of peace is more advantage to Great Britain, than that which he, *infallible* as he ſeems to think himſelf, would have concluded when in power: how inconſiſtent has his conduct been of late! He may now indeed be juſtly eſteemed what a certain colonel, now deputy governor of Minorca, called him, in a certain honourable houſe: he now truly, laying patriotiſm aſide, proves himſelf an incendiary, and an heap of contradictions.

An Impartial Spectator.

LETTER II.

I *Cannot forbear taking notice of that arrogant*, but ſilly and impertinent *letter of Mr. An Impartial Spectator*, as he moſt falſely calls himſelf, publiſhed in your paper of this day, *wherein he ſays* nothing but *abſurdities* and equivocations, which detect and confute themſelves. I do not wonder that he and

thoſe

thoſe who pay for the ſquibs of his hired *impartiality* are vexed that Mr. P. is ſo INDEPENDENT that he can tell his conſtituents he will not repreſent them again. How many of thoſe who gave a venal vote of approbation of the peace *he warmly oppoſed* dare hold that language? Even the firſt lord of the treaſury [Mr. George Grenville] has, on occaſion of changes of office made to accommodate his vacillant timidity, and reward his ſervile compliance, been thrice re-elected in one year, for a borough which would not have choſen him once, if a generous brother had not (with a noble contempt of his experienced ingratitude, and ſtrong feelings of the affection he had forfeited, yielded to the ſupplications he was mean enough to renew; and reſpect to the decency to the king's ſervice, from which he himſelf ſtood expelled, for his ſpirited oppoſition to the tyranny of a *favourite*, who was deſtroying his country that he might enſlave it; as well as from the requeſt of their common and great ally, who was in the ſame ſituation, but could not be provoked to withhold his earneſt ſollicitations, which were as unmerited as the favour they obtained) conſented that he ſo often ſhould offer his ſervice to the corporation where he could not make a vote, as the only way he had to avoid the diſgrace of being forced, when in the higheſt employment in the kingdom, to *beg* a ſeat in parliament from thoſe whom he had before ſuffered to tread upon his puſillanimity, when he was ſacrificing the ties of nature, and the bonds of obligation, with the duties of patriotiſm,

triotiſm, to ſupport the deſpotiſm of their ambition. How *many* are there of thoſe *loyal cities*, of which your correſpondent ſpeaks, that *have addreſſed* his majeſty on the peace (that is, have, like the corporation of B. given the fictitious authentication of their ſeal to an addreſs deviſed or dictated by one man, perhaps ſome *ignorant* but *fortunate* tool of adminiſtration *) which, inſtead of *freely* choſing an independent

* The ſeal of the borough of W—— was put to an addreſs without the knowledge of more than three members of the corporation, the reſt diſavowing the felonious act when diſcovered. Addreſſes have been preſented from counties which never met to conſider of them, with ſubſcriptions mendicated from houſe to houſe of ſuch as could be prevailed upon to ſign them. Others have been ſurreptitiouſly *procured* from packed aſſemblies, to which thoſe only were ſecretly invited whoſe ſubſerviency to a job was ſecured, and oppoſed by the others accidentally preſent. Some have been ſigned in name of the whole, by one perſon to whom it was referred to compoſe the addreſs as he pleaſed, without ſo much as ſhewing it to thoſe who delegated to him that extraordinary power. Such facts tranſpire by chance; but a true hiſtory of the ways and means of modern addreſſing would be a work not leſs curious than inſtructive. Quere, What is the intrinſick value of ſuch addreſſes, as being the voice of the countries from which they come? Is this informing the crown of the true ſenſe of the PEOPLE, taken

dependent repreſentative, to maintain the true intereſt of their country, do not ſell to the higheſt taken in a candid and conſtitutional manner; or its buoying up the power of a contemptible adminiſtration, whoſe credit and popularity are alike low, by impoſing on the king the ſuppoſitious fruit of miniſterial influence for the genuine ſentiments of honeſt and enlightened patriots? Are not the negative reſolutions of the city of London, and the counties of York and Surry, made in oppoſition to the moſt ſtrenuous efforts of power, and the moſt ſubtle arts of influence, upon fair trial, and full deliberation, of more importance than hundreds of approbations *begged*, *bought*, *procured* and *compelled*, in the manner practiced of late? Let as many as *can*, of thoſe who voted to approve the peace, tell their conſtituents they did it *not* according to their *fears*, *expectations*, or *b—es*, and by comparing their number with thoſe who do ſay, and can with truth ſay, as mr. George Onſlow, who is truly honourable without the poſt he was too worthy to be ſuffered to enjoy, has done, in the face of his conſtituents, and in defiance of corruption and tyranny, that he voted according to his conſcience, and in doing ſo brought upon himſelf miniſterial vengeance, the public will ſee upon what ſide the virtuous and laudable majority was. The fruits of the peace, if they yet continue without infraction, or ſhall remain ſo as long as to ſee the *pacta conventa* of the definitive treaty carried into execution, will be a more inconteſtable proof of the

higheſt bidder a capacity of carrying to market the honour of the crown, the rights of the people, and the glory of the nation? It is, to be ſure, a great pity that mr. Pitt ſhould *write in a ſtile* that is offenſive to this *auto-critic*, who takes upon him to pronounce upon things with a very ſelf-confident air of importance, notwithſtanding the reproof which, with no ſmall degree of inſolence, he preſumes to adminiſter to the pretenſions of *infallibility*, that he affects to impute to one much beyond the ſphere of his aſpiring judgment: but certainly mr. P. muſt have been unreaſonably ſelf-denied, or have forgot the true dignity of character with which his country has deſervedly enobled him, if he had deſcended ſo far as to write in any other ſtile than that he *did uſe* (if it were fairly repreſented) *even* to the reſpectable corporation of Bath, which receives a great addition of luſtre from its lodging all its active powers, and all its faculties of acute diſcernment in the *ſole* perſon of the great mr. Allen. *Mr.* pretended *Impartial* has learned his notions of *honour* in a ſchool where merit did not bear the palm, if he does not think it would be an

the judgment and integrity of thoſe who made and approved, or of thoſe who oppoſed and condemned it, than the falſe adulation of addreſſes as venal, and deſpicable, as the corruption, and incapacity, of thoſe who ſollicit and procure them, is criminal and contemptible in the eyes of the ſound part of the nation, which nauſeates the ſtench of the rotten perfume.

an honour to any corporation in England, to be repreſented by the man who, by the unanimous voice of the commonwealth, was called upon to ſteer the helm of a ſtaggering ſtate, and did, by the aſtoniſhing energy of his ſpirit, and the uparallelled ſuperiority of his talents for government, *ſave* his *country*; the unexampled reputation of which, acquired under *his* conduct, will add to the juſt tribute of praiſe already beſtowed both by *king* and *people*, a monument more durable than braſs or marble, to perpetuate the fame of his glorious and *uncorrupt* adminiſtration, in the *faithful* page of an almoſt *incredible* hiſtory, that future ages will read, with grateful admiration, of *his* virtue and abilities;—and with *due* reſentment againſt the *rotting* memory of the parricides who ſacrificed the immortal work of his hands to an *infamous* luſt for the power he diſdained to hold longer than he could employ it effectually to humble the enemies, and ſecure the intereſt of the nations he had delivered from ruin and deſpair. *Let any of* the deceived and ſeduced, or corrupted *friends or followers* of thoſe who pay this *Pſeudo-Spectator* who writes to you, mr. Printer, *if they can*, demonſtrate, againſt the unbiaſſed conviction, expreſſed from all corners of the kingdom, and the irrefragable proofs and arguments of the writings publiſhed, pending the negociations, what the miniſterial ſcribblers *now* pretend to aſſert, while others, with good reaſon deny it, that the *late* treaty of peace (which the nonſenſe of this correſpondent, who ſays he is your conſtant reader,

call the *preſent*, as if it was not yet finiſhed, or perhaps becauſe it is already annulled by infraction) is *more advantageous to Great Britain*, than that *which he* who, to the writer's own reproach *only*, is contumeliouſly ſaid to *think himſelf infallible*, but who proved himſelf to be amongſt the *leaſt fallible* politicians; and the moſt honeſt ſtateſmen that have adorned this or any country, *would it is ſaid have concluded*, when in power. Only let thoſe who authorize themſelves to ſit in judgment upon ſo important a queſtion, produce more indiſputable credentials of their ſkill to decide, than have yet appeared on that ſide, and lay before the world the evidence upon which they ground their determination, without the diſguiſe which the weakneſs of the cauſe has hitherto obliged ſuch *undertakers* to uſe: and let them, above all, be honeſt enough to take into the account the charge of circumſtances between the two periods of time; the additional burden and expence England had incurred in her own juſt and neceſſary defence; and the further means of doing juſtice to herſelf, which the reluctant continuation of the war, had, at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, put into her hands, by the miraculous interpoſition of Providence ſuſpending the ordinary courſe of nature, or an intemperate climate, to correct the blunder of procraſtinating councils, which muſt otherwiſe have proved fatal to the deſign, and ſeconding the heroic efforts of invincible bravery, in an army ſuffering the ſevereſt hardſhips, and pouring out their lives to make acquiſitions,

which

which thoſe who ſent them to the butchery, were in the inſtant negotiating away upon the moſt inadequate conditions. This *Spectator faſtidioſus & ſibi moleſtus*, in a vain exclamation, aſks, *how inconſiſtent has his* (i. e. mr. P—'s) *conduct been of late!* But the truly concerned patriot-beholders admire the conſiſtency and moderation of the renowned citizen, who has been venerably illuſtrious in a private ſtation, ever ſince he was driven from the charge, which has been worſe than vacant from the time it was taken from him. Like another Roman, he has been retired at his plough; and when in the ſenate, he has oppoſed the enemies of their country alike as of himſelf, with nothing but better council than any they could give, and too good for them to follow, tho' liſtened to with admiration and applauſe by all but thoſe, to whom it was a mirror to ſhew their own imbecillity. Whatever a certain colonel, who your correſpondent *ſays is now deputy governor of Minorca*, (which muſt be a miſtake, as the gentleman in that office never ſat in the place referred to, and probably means another colonel, lately appointed governor of a caſtle in the North, as a reward for *acting* the *hurtleſs* bully on a particular occaſion) whatever this colonel *called* mr. P— in a certain honourable houſe, which was ſo diſguſted with the indecency of his firſt *cut* of ſcurrility, that the ſecond attempt was drowned in an univerſal cough and ſhuffle of the feet, the admirers of that great man will leave the proficients in Billingſgate to *call names*, which

thoſe who employ them deſerve; and regard his actions, which ſtamp a character as far beyond the reach of ſuch babblers, as the moon is above the barking of the little cur, being *now indeed juſtly eſteemed* one of the firſt men of the age: *he now truly* adheres to *patriotiſm*, which a ſucceeding and opponent miniſter cannot be ſaid to *lay aſide*, only becauſe he never took it up; and continues to *prove* himſelf, inſtead of an *incendiary*, the wonderful artiſt to extinguiſh the fire that devours his country, and a very conſtellation of virtues and accompliſhments; while it is evident beyond diſpute, that the unpopular *favourite*, who envies the greatneſs he cannot rival, is the fire-brand which kindled the raging flame, and is in truth a bundle of abſurdities, tho' he cannot be called *an heap of contradictions*, not having ever done any good to contraſt the miſchief the nation has ſuffered by him, which is a merit mr. Impartial Spectator's own figure does not deny to mr. P—, amidſt all the fury of his impotent malice.

TALLIO.

LETTER III.

Let humble Allen with an aukward ſhame-Pope.

OF all the crimes that ſullied the glory of the Roman and Grecian ſtates, none excite our indignation more than their ingratitude. When we read of the brighteſt actions performed, of invaſions repelled, of tyrants cruſhed, of the country ſaved, and expect with impatience to learn what rewards were heaped on the hero to whom ſuch deliverance was owing,

we

we burn with anger to find that baniſhment, at leaſt obloquy, was the return which his fellow-citizens, reverting to ſecurity, ſtung with envy, or faſcinated by mercenary, and worthleſs, and factious demagogues, conferred on their preſerver. Thoſe demi-gods, the objects of poſterity's admiration, were often treated by their cotemporaries as criminals. Camillus, who drove the Gauls from the capitol; Coriolanus, who fixed the balance of power to Rome over neighbour and rival ſtates; Cicero, who defeated the domeſtic machinations of the profligate and rapacious Catiline, and whoſe eloquence ſave the commonwealth; were all ſacrificed to clamour, nonſenſe, and ſelf intereſt. We deſpiſe and hate the Roman people, who were inſenſible to ſuch merit, who could forget it; or worſe, could be perſuaded to perſecute it. Yet in Rome there were not half the opportunities that we have of deluding the people. They had no preſs to expedite the circulation of lies; no weekly Auditors, Britons, Magazines; no hireling——to beg addreſſes on circuits; no trimming Flamen who ſought that preferment by adulation, which he had deſerved to miſs by hereſy and abuſe of his own order; no time-ſerving poſt-maſter at Baiæ, whoſe humility could ſuppoſe itſelf of more importance than the ſaviour of his country; nay, whoſe humility was ſo great, as to think his own judgment more enlightened than Cicero's.

As we have theſe and many other new diſcovered advantages, unknown to the ancients,

no wonder we make quicker progreſs in national crimes. No wonder the immortal ſervices of mr. Pitt are forgotten in two years. His enemies are numerous; for many men he outſhone; of many he retrieved the blunders; of ſome he expoſed the crimes. He courted none, but thoſe who would ſerve their country. He neither took bribes, nor gave them. He was inacceſſible to the lazy, the profligate, the intereſted, and the proud. He demoliſhed the power of France, which the Jacobites had ſaved at Utrecht, and which the Tories have reſtored by the late peace. He would have reduced Spain, and burſt the perfidious family-compact, if an ignorant but preſumptuous favourite had not preferred his own ſtability at court to the ſecurity of Great-Britain and Europe; and he retired to a private life, when he found that the will of an upſtart minion was more regarded than the preſent honour and future ſalvation of England. He bluſhed for his countrymen, but he ſcorned to bribe them. They wiſhed for nothing but to be bribed, ſold their poſterity for a meſs of Scotch porridge, and put on the livery of the prime miniſter.

Hence the torrents of abuſe on mr. Pitt from men

"Whoſe ſons ſhall bluſh their fathers were his foes:"

Hence their daily feeble and impotent attempts to pick flaws in his virtues, which blaze the brighter by being oppoſed to the trifling blemiſhes, which theſe curious but malignant ſearchers can with much microſcopic ſpite diſcover.

cover. If ſuch a man as mr. Pitt is not without faults, a generous nature would weep over them: but it is *feminine* malice which thinks, by publiſhing or by whiſpering foibles, to extinguiſh the memory of his heroic ſervices. His enemies are conſcious, that unleſs he is depreſſed, they can never ſhine. Convict him of haughtineſs, and the theatric empty bombaſt and inſolence of the favourite may paſs for condeſcenſion and affability. What pity that they cannot prove that mr. Pitt is a blockhead! how many of our miniſters would inſtantly become wits! Come, ye ſlanderers, ſtick at nothing: accuſe him of all the crimes of your patrons; it is the only way of white-waſhing the latter. Swear he has thirty thouſand pounds a year in long annuities; that he got immenſe ſums by contracts in Germany; that the exciſe on cyder was his ſcheme; that while he was ſecretary of ſtate he committed members of parliament to cloſe impriſonment; that he begged a peace, and b —— approbation of it; that he loaded the civil liſt with debts by a profuſion of penſions; that he inſulted the ſtaunchеſt friends of the houſe of Hanover; that he made notorious Jacobites privy counſellors; that he debarred the nobility from all acceſs to their ſovereign: and that, in the mid'ſt of his inſolence, he was ſeized with a panic and ran away to Harrowgate.

If even theſe, and ſuch allegations as theſe, ſhould not be ſufficient to make mr. Pitt odious, and to obliterate his ſervices, there is one point ſtill remaining, which cannot fail to ruin him

him in the eyes of his countrymen. There is one man to whom Great Britain is more obliged than to mr. Pitt; a man who has more genius, more ſenſe, more virtue, more eloquence, more diſtintereſtneſs, than mr. Pitt himſelf, and to whom mr. Pitt is himſelf aſtoniſhingly obliged. If mr. Pitt has been ungrateful to that great man, not all mr. Pitt's ſervices, not the deſtruction of the French power, not our ſucceſſes in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, not the high light in which we ſtood in the eyes of all Europe during his adminiſtration, can atone for his ingratitude to that great man. Though mr. Pitt humbled the French monarch, he is never to be forgiven for differing with mr. Allen;—for after all the clamours raiſed, this proves to be the utmoſt of what mr. Pitt is guilty. Inſtead of arrogance and haughtineſs, with which the *lying* party ſo confidently charged him, we meet with nothing in his letters but decency, modeſty, civility; and what is indeed provoking to his enemies, predominant ſenſe and conſcious merit. As the letters have at laſt appeared, notwithſtanding the very tender ſuppreſſion of them, the pitiful plot of calumniating a man, on the pretence of his having done what they had vainly attempted to provoke him to do, I mean, behave with intemperate warmth, has wretchedly miſcarried, and recoiled on the bungling projectors. The contrivers, whoever they were that will claim the honour of this ſhallow ſcheme, may be penſioned or promoted; in every other reſpect the tricks played by the favourite's cabal for defaming mr. Pitt,

have,

have, if mr. Allen will permit the expreſſion, proved as inadequate as the peace itſelf. Some future preferment may let in ſome light upon this notable ſtroke of policy, for egregious miſcarriages are no impediments to reward under the preſent equitable ſyſtem. We have known the favourite give a man a place, who he thought could ſerve him; and when he has found the man could not—why, he has given him two. Nay, while one hand has ſeverely adminiſtered the wholeſome rod of perſecution and proſcription; the other, as outrageouſly bountiful, has beſtowed ſine-cures on thoſe whom he has diſplaced for betraying him. Were a new election at hand, we ſhould ſee too whom he would nominate member for Bath; but he might at the ſame time have the mortification of ſeeing half the cities on this ſide Tweed, contending for the honour of being repreſented by the man, to whom they owe the preſent ſecurity of their religion, laws, trade, riches, and independence.

JOHN.

LETTER IV.

THERE cannot be a more flagrant proof of the conſciouſneſs of the Scotch miniſter, and his coadjutors, that the peace which they have made is neither ſafe, nor honourable, nor advantageous, than the mean, the artful, and the wicked meaſures which have been uſed, in begging, ſtealing, or buying addreſſes to the throne, which approve it. The purpoſes for which ſuch addreſſes have been procured, are too obvious to

to need explanation: And I believe it is notorious, that not a ſingle addreſs has been ſent from any country, or large corporation, but by one of the ways abovementioned. It is needleſs therefore to enter into particulars! the accuſation in general is too true to be denied. But one addreſs there is, too remarkable in itſelf, and in too extraordinary a manner procured, to be paſſed by unnoticed: You will eaſily ſuppoſe I mean that from the city of Bath.

Could any body have imagined, that the city of Bath, above all the places in England, could have been prevailed upon by any artifices whatever, to fall into the ſnare of flattering the Scotch miniſter, in open contradiction to the meaſures of their own miniſter, by whom they deemed it their peculiar honour to be repreſented in parliament, and whoſe praiſes they never thought they could ſound too high? Aſtoniſhing as it is, the fact is true. Let us try, if you pleaſe, how it may be accounted for.

The cunning of the great man, to procure an addreſs on the peace from that very corporation which his mortal enemy repreſented, is viſible enough without being pointed out; and no wonder he ſhould bid ſo high a price for it as is reported. But where was the gratitude, where the integrity of the man, who could permit ſuch an offer to be made him without the higheſt indignation? A man too very remarkable, for the moſt abuſive language to thoſe who give him offence, by only preſuming to call his judgment in ſpeculative

matters

matters in queſtion. Let us ſuppoſe however that he has a paſſion ſtill more predominant, be it avarice or ambition, for the gratification of which every other conſideration muſt give way: And if this paſſion was well underſtood, the price of his gratitude and integrity would ſoon be gueſſed at, and as ſoon be bidden, with an aſſurance of its being accepted. The only difficulty that ſtood in the way was now on his part, to prevail on his ALL-WORTHY relation, who was permitted to guide the counſels of the corporation, to undo by a ſingle ſtroke what he had ſo many years of his life been doing; and by a public act of ingratitude, and the moſt abſolute inconſiſtency, to loſe all the fair fame that he had acquired by many private virtues. He had almoſt idolized mr. Pitt as a miniſter, and as his friend. He had applauded all his meaſures; he had taken part in all his ſucceſſes, as tho' they had been his own; and mr. Pitt in return for his friendſhip, had procured a mitre for his favourite prieſt. No matter. Mr. Pitt was no longer a miniſter, and no tranſlation in his power to give. The ſee of E. juſt ready to drop, being put in one ſcale, and gratitude, conſiſtency, and integrity put in the other, the latter kicked the beam. Whether all the parties are ſatisfied with their bargain, is very doubtful; but certain it is, the addreſs was ſomehow or other procured. Mr. Allworthy's judgment was inſtantaneouſly enlightened: He gave up his dear friend; he gave up his idol miniſter; he gave up all his own former opinions; he even went further in oppoſition

poſition to this miniſter's ſentiments than his bittereſt enemies, or the moſt zealous friends of the Scotch miniſter's; he ſſoued over head and ears, and called the peace *adequate* to our ſucceſſes: And for what was this proſtitution of a very amiable deſerving character? It is probable that it *may* be, and it is to be hoped it *will* be, for nothing at all.

JUSTUS.

LETTER V.

IN a late news-paper I read the following paragraph; "the rev. mr. Entick, mr. Arthur Beardmore and his clerk, and meſſrs. Wilſon and Fell, have given notice to the earl of Halifax, in purſuance of the act of parliament of the 24th of the late king, that they ſhall bring their ſeveral actions againſt his lordſhip and the meſſengers for their impriſonment, on account of the ſeveral numbers of the Monitor, concerning which no proſecutions having been carried on, their ſeveral recognizances were, by the Court of King's Bench, diſcharged the laſt day of laſt term." Mr. printer, my heart leaped within me, my eyes ſwam in tears of joy at reading thoſe glorious words; I felt all the exultation of being an Engliſhman. Where, cried I to my heart, where is the ſpot upon earth, except in theſe iſlands, in which the loweſt of mankind is ſecure of juſtice as much as the higheſt? Where elſe dare the pooreſt man ſend word to a miniſter that he intends to call him to account for tyranny and oppreſſion? O Britannia, divine region of liberty, mayeſt thou

thou ever be thus free! may the haughtieſt grandee tremble to injure the meaneſt of thy ſons! may thy beggars walk as ſecure from the crutches of power, as the nobleman in ermine! while thy laws are ſacred, and juſtice raiſes her ſword at the firſt cry of the poor, 'tis more glorious to want bread in the ſtreets, than to be pampered in any other country. Gods! who can reflect a moment, and not be tranſported to be an Engliſhman! Think but what aſtoniſhment the above paragraph would create in a Spaniard or a Frenchman! what! they would cry, an obſcure wretch, a printer, a curate or his clerk, dare to give notice to a ſecretary of ſtate, that they intend to call him to account! Is it poſſible? have you no Baſtile, no Gallies, to puniſh ſuch inſolence? No, no, we have the full enjoyment of all the rights to which as men we are entitled. The good ſenſe and the ſpirit of our anceſtors told them that rank, birth, fortune, make no difference in human nature. Engliſhmen of former days never conceived that accidents of birth or riches gave one man a right to injure another; they held that affluence and comforts were ſufficient for lords; that it was not reaſonable to give them power too over their fellow creatures. Theſe wiſe law givers did not apprehend that poverty was not a ſufficient evil, without adding ſlavery to it. On the contrary, they ſecured to the poor the bleſſing of liberty, which can ſweeten every hardſhip. Yes, ye poor of England, though riches, honours, palaces, equipages, are not your's, LIBERTY is. O preſerve it

inviolate! Loath, abhor, ſhun the wretches, who would wreſt the invaluable treaſure from you: mix not with Tories, thoſe apes of foreign ſlavery: drive them from your corporations and your clubs; refuſe them your votes at every election. If once they get the aſcendant, you will no longer have *the unparallelled privilege of ſending notice to a ſecretary of ſtate that you will proſecute him if he oppreſſes you.* JOHN.

LETTER VI.

Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus. HOR.

An old manuſcript fell into my hands the other day, in which I met with the following reflections.

"FAvouritiſm is of itſelf an unſuperable objection to the power of which it is the baſis, being the moſt odious title *any* perſon can have to be a miniſter in *any* country. So far is it from making up for the want of other precautions, that it would, alone, deſtroy the beſt. It will not be ſubmitted to in a free country, and has never failed to be the ruin of the favourite himſelf, at the ſame time that it is one of the moſt dangerous rocks a prince can touch. It tends to convulſe a ſtate; and the firmeſt governments have been ſhaken by its dreadful conſequences. As it attacks the ſovereign's regard to one man, it of courſe cools and may alienate the affection of other ſubjects. It engroſſes the royal confidence, and conſequently deprives the crown of the aſſiſtance of able and faithful counſellors; none being ſuffered o continue in that poſt, or at leaſt to

perform the functions of it, but ſuch as are ready to eccho the ſentiments of the *favourite*. If any were to differ with him, it would only produce perpetual jars and diſſention, and expoſe their opinions, however juſt and well founded, to contempt and rejection, as the *favourite's* muſt always prevail. It converts the will of the prince into a mere copy of the *favourite's* inclinations. The aſcendant is ſo ſtrong, that the prince does not know his own mind; he loſes his own thoughts among the impreſſions he is continually receiving from the *favourite*; and the better the diſpoſitions of the prince are, the evil is the greater, becauſe he will be the more diffident of his own judgment, though the beſt of the two, and entirely ſurrendered to that on which he has ſo ſtrong a reliance. FAVOURITISM monopolizes the favours of the crown to the *favourite*, his connections, dependents, and adherents, whoſe *receiving* muſt be a very ſtrong preſumption of their *not deſerving* them. It expoſes to the effects of the *favourite's* reſentment, all thoſe who have the ſpirit to reſiſt and oppoſe him, and all their friends, from the higheſt to the loweſt. The power of the crown is debaſed and perverted to be the inſtrument of this reſentment, in a manner inconſiſtent with the honour of majeſty, and dangerous to the peace and quiet of government. Every one is turned out of place in office who will not bow to the ſhrine of the favourite, that his reſentment may be gratified, and his ſycophants provided for. *Favouritiſm* is the natural parent of envy and jealouſy in the

leading men of a country; and their diſinclinations and averſions muſt neceſſarily ſpread through all orders, and to the remoteſt corner of the kingdom; the leaſt effect to be expected from which, is an univerſal murmur and diſcontent. It obſcures the luſtre of the crown, and diminiſhes the royal dignity by ſetting up an idol, the falſe worſhip of which, withdraws the veneration and reſpect due to the ſovereign. It raiſes a competitor for that honour and duty that ought to be ſacred to the perſon of majeſty. For the *favourite*, the baſe, the ſervile, and compliant, will pay their adulation, while thoſe who will not renounce their own dignity, retire from court, finding they cannot ſtand there upon that foot, which their rank and character, their loyalty and love of the king, entitle them to maintain. FAVOURITISM unkings the ſovereign, and, in reality, places a ſubject, more than probably one of the unworthieſt, upon the throne, into whoſe hand all the ſubſtantial power of the crown is put, and nothing but the ſhadow and trappings of royalty left to attend the ſcepter. The prince who is ruled by a *favourite*, is in chains of his own making; and the ſervitude is deſtructive of its own relief, as it excludes thoſe who might be able to knock the fetters off. FAVOURITISM gives the king a maſter inſtead of a ſervant; it makes the creature of his own power independent of himſelf; and raiſes a minion to an inglorious pre-eminence, which tends to put him above thē laws, and beyond the reach of the juſtice of his country, to offend againſt which his ſituation encourages him,

him, being the moſt powerful protection againſt their effects. There never was a *favourite* who did not injure his country, and the vile friends he is able to make for himſelf, by the ſole diſpoſition of the royal favours, will adhere to him while his power continues; and, for their own ſakes, try to ſupport him againſt the cries of the people, while the judicious *friendſhip* of the miſguided prince endeavours to cover him from the vengeance of an offended nation. This muſt produce convulſions in the ſtate, and, if the kingdom is devoted to ſuch a fatal ſtroke, may unhinge the very frame of the government. Who can ſay what may not be the conſequences of *favouritiſm* deeply rooted, and obſtinately maintained? There are none ſo bad, but examples of them are to be found in the hiſtory of England, which proves the above picture not to be imaginary or overſtretched. FAVOURITES have done more miſchief than the greateſt and beſt ſervices of the moſt able and faithful miniſters could repair, or the moſt zealous endeavours of the honeſteſt patriots prevent."

A. O.

LETTER VII.

LEST the "pert and ſelf-ſufficient, mr. Simplex * ſhould vainly imagine, he had ſilenced

* Simplex had expreſſed his ſurpriſe in a former letter that the Independent Whig had not appeared for ſome time, and remarked that the Whig's laſt letter but one was on the thankſgiving day; and as no other letter from him had appeared ſince, he ſuppoſed him to be ſilenced.

ſilenced the INDEPENDENT WHIG, it is proper to acquaint him, and the public, that the INDEPENDENT WHIG is not ſilenced; that he will ever continue firm in his principles, for the ſupport of Engliſh liberty, as eſtabliſhed by our Great Deliverer, king William the third, and the ſucceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, in oppoſition to the Tories, the Scots, and *their* acknowledged relique of the tyrannic STUARTS: and Simplex might have convinced himſelf of this fact, if he had looked into any of the editions, of the LETTER to the right hon. mr. GEORGE GRENVILLE. If Simplex ſhould be at a loſs, why *that* channel of conveyance to the public, was choſen inſtead of a news-paper, I will inform him, that it was from mere neceſſity. The papers could not inſert ſo long a letter; and it was not thought proper to divide it, becauſe of the FACTS; which, it is preſumed, the public will there find ſtated, in a full and convincing manner.

Simplex is right, (and that is the only thing in which he is right) when he ſays, that the laſt letter, but one, ſigned AN INDEPENDENT WHIG, appeared on the 5th of May, the thanſgiving day. Indeed it was a day ſo remarkable, that it was next to impoſſible he ſhould miſtake it. And the evening, ſeemed to be diſtinguiſhed by nature with an unuſual darkneſs, as if prophetic of ſome gloomy event. Inſtead of being a day of thankſgiving and rejoicing, it ſeemed to a day mourning, with ſackcloth and aſhes: for the churches were almoſt empty, during the time of divine

ſervice

ſervice in the day; and in the evening, there were few, if any illuminations. Indeed how ſhould it be otherwiſe; for could it be expected, that the people would, in compliance with a Scottiſh miniſterial mandate, join in a ſolemn mockery of heaven, with thanks, that a Scottiſh miniſter, had given to our implacable enemies, "whoſe very friendſhip (as the great duke of Marlborough juſtly ſaid) muſt be deſtructive to us, there being in them a root of enmity irreconcilable to our religion and government," the iſlands of Cuba, Martinico, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Deſirade, Mariegalante, Goree, Belleiſle, &c. a large and moſt dangerous ſhare of the fiſhery; Pondicherry, with all the conqueſts in the Eaſt Indies, &c. I ſay were we to thank God, that the Scot had given all this power to our enemies; together with near 40,000 ſeamen, not one of whom they could ever have had, in order to enable them to commence another war?—Let any honeſt man, (I do not mean one who has been bought by a penſion or a place, for he cannot be honeſt that reſigns his will to the command of another) lay his hand upon his breaſt, and ſpeak from his conſcience, whether he thinks ſuch a peace, with ſuch enemies, can be a SAFE ONE for England?—When it ſeemed, as if the arm of heaven was extended in our favour; when conqueſt crowned every expedition againſt our enemies; when the Manillas and the Havannah fell, and all the Spaniſh ſettlements and riches, in both the eaſtern and weſtern worlds, lay entirely at the mercy of our arms; was it any thing

leſs

leſs in the Scot, than flying in the face of that power, who had thus wrought miracles in our favour, to put a ſtop to the tide of our victories, by patching up an infamous peace? When the Almighty had put us in a condition, that with an Engliſh ſpirit, and but a little perſeverance, we might, perhaps for ever, have fixed our ſecurity upon a ſolid baſis, the Scot put the glorious opportunity out of our hands, by neglecting, or, what ſtands neareſt to truth, being incapable, to make uſe of it. Were we to thank God for this? — Well therefore might the city be dark; and well might Simplex remember the day.

I will add a few words concerning the negligence and ſupineneſs of the miniſtry, ſince the concluſion of the late *adequate and advantageous peace*; for ſo mr. Allen, the poſt maſter of Bath calls it; becauſe having a very lucrative place, he has the ſelf-aſſumed right of chriſtening it ſo, for the whole corporation. I would aſk them, what ſchemes of national good they have either formed or undertaken? This is the time (the time of peace) for ſuch buſineſs: and if we look round upon other nations, we ſhall ſee their diligence in making all the improvements they poſſibly can. They clearly foreſee the peace cannot be of long duration, and therefore they are wiſely providing for exigencies. Even the late ruined and exhauſted French, will ſoon, (thanks to Scottiſh friendſhip and gratitude) be in a moſt reſpectable condition. Every power is preparing to become ſo midable——but England. Our miniſtry, in their great wiſdom, have

have not yet thought proper to make one ſingle arrangement with reſpect to the peopling or cultivating our American colonies. It is true, FOUR Scottiſh governors have been appointed, in preference to Engliſh ones (though the latter had at leaſt equal, if not better pretenſions) to preſide, with the natural tyranny and arbitrary wills of their countrymen, over Engliſh freemen. But except this ſcandalous, and truely alarming inſtance of Scottiſh favour and Scottiſh influence, there has not been one ſingle plan adopted for the improvement, or even ſecurity of our commerce; nor one ſingle ſtep taken, to make ANY ADVANTAGE of the peace. Let any ſincere lover of his country lay the heats of party aſide, and ſpeak of this but what he thinks. If lord B. who I believe to be as much miniſter now as ever, is that ſtudious, philoſophic, philanthropic man, as hath been frequently repreſented, (though I much queſtion if by any but the Scots, and a few of his other creatures) why has he not done ſomething of this kind? or, at leaſt, why has he not inſtructed his agents? And by plans of improvement, and new ſettlements, provided long ago, for thoſe brave Engliſh veterans, who are either enliſting, from mere neceſſity, under the banners of our enemies; or are ſtarving at home; becauſe, as it ſhould ſeem, they had defeated and reduced the French, who were the ancient and natural allies of Scotland.

An INDEPENDENT WHIG.

Copy

Copy of a ſpeech, deſigned to have been ſpoken by a Freeholder of Surry, at the meeting in Croydon, which the unanimity of the numerous aſſembly rendered unneceſſary. [*See vol. II. page* 113.]

GENTLEMEN,

AS this county borders on the metropolis, ſo it may be preſumed its freeholders are better qualified to form a judgment of the foreign commerce of this kingdom, than thoſe more diſtant; and I believe none are more happily circumſtanced:—Their property renders them independent: They have no intereſt but what is connected with that of their country; and with reſpect to ſo much as regards the peace lately concluded—behave conſiſtenly.

But we are called upon to vote an addreſs of thanks for it: let us therefore conſider how far it is merited. The war particularly became nceceſſary to prevent the French diſpoſſeſſing us of North America. To carry it on, greater ſums were raiſed, and greater ſucceſſes obtained, than perhaps we ever had known; and ſchemes for extending our conqueſts were alſo known to be ripe for execution, which (from the condition we had reduced our enemies to) gave us a moral aſſurance of ſucceſs: Yet, at this critical time, a treaty was ſet on foot at Paris—which was hurried into execution—on the conqueſt of the Havannah. We preſerved Portugal, and all we undertook proſpered in all parts of the globe; tho' we are ſo profuſe as to retain only Canada, and a factory at Senegal! That Belleiſle

leiſle is of more importance to France, than Minorca to Great Britain, is, I think, indiſputable; which admitted, what have we for thoſe large fertile iſlands, Martinico, Guadaloupe, with the ſmaller iſlands near them? Of thoſe called neutral, St. Lucia, deemed more valuable than all the reſt, and for which the late duke of Montague had a patent, is given to France, as is the iſland of Goree near Senegal; and great compliments have been paid them in the Eaſt-Indies: What reſpects Newfoundland I refer to letters received from ſir Peter Thomſon, writ at Pool.

I now come to ſpeak of Louiſiana. Had the whole of that country been ceded to us, as Florida is by the Spaniards, and had not this peace furniſhed the French with the means of rivalling us in the Newfoundland fiſhery, we might have retrieved our loſſes, and had a probability of a peace being permanent; but ſuch a promiſcuous fiſhery, and ſuch a boundary in Louiſiana, leaves little room to expect it.

For though the Miſſiſſippi from its ſource is to divide, yet before that river diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, the French retain the country on both ſides, with their fortifications: It is true, proviſion is made for ever paſſing and repaſſing unmoleſted; but no ſecurity is given, unleſs *bona fide* be taken for ſuch. This ceſſion, as circumſtanced, has a very gloomy aſpect.

If the Spaniards have any ſenſe of gratitude, what may we not expect from them, as the Manillas

Manillas are added to the Havannah! How bountifully are they paid for Florida! which was of no other uſe to them than as having within its limits St. Auguſtine, a ſmall town and fort, whoſe value conſiſted altogether in its vicinity to Georgia, to the inhabitants of which they were nearly alike troubleſome in peace as war, there being little deſirable in the adjacent country to recommend it, notwithſtanding its name. I ſpeak from knowledge.

We had long aſſerted and exerciſed a right to cut and carry away logwood from the Bay of Honduras: The natives never ſubmitted to the Spaniards, but acknowledged ours for their king; yet, if the Spaniards, even in time of peace, could board our ſhips, and therein find logwood, they condemned and confiſcated both ſhip and cargo. In proper places we had erected forts, which by this treaty are to be demoliſhed; but we may build, occupy, cut, and carry away, without interruption—and his Catholic majeſty aſſures us of it. Therefore, a Spaniard may ſay, that when we acknowledge the ſovereignty, to retain forts and caſtles implies a diffidence of his ſincerity!

This very article is very extraordinary; to accept, as matter of favour, what we were in rightful poſſeſſion of. If Spain means no more than is declared, why are we to render ourſelves defenceleſs? and why do we abandon the poor Moſqueto Indians, whoſe friendſhip has been (and may again) be uſeful to us? Other articles appear exceptionable, which

which I doubt not have been obſerved by perſons much more capable of repreſenting them.

Upon the whole, I apprehend it is the general opinion, that we might eaſily have diſpoſſeſſed both French and Spaniards of the continent of North America; and I preſume it will not be diſputed, nor that (had we not precipitately made this peace) we might not have made one more adequate to our expences and ſucceſſes. To aſk why we did not avail ourſelves can anſwer no good purpoſe; I would not inflame; it is done—but to kiſs the rod that whips me is too much. Hypocriſy and flattery belong not to me; and therefore I move, that no more notice be taken of this affair, at leaſt till it may appear in a more amiable light.

The conduct of our repreſentatives in parliament entitles them to our thanks—it is a tribute due to them, and I ſhall with pleaſure concur in the payment. The ſenſe of the county cannot be better expreſſed or underſtood; nor can it give juſt cauſe of offence to any. SAM. NICHOLSON.

Croydon, July 28, 1763.

LETTER IX.

THE art of becoming favourites is peculiar to the Scots; they make uſe of a certain means, that every Engliſhman is an utter ſtranger to, which ſeldom fails of ſubduing the man to whom it is adminiſtered.

Their venom is of all other animals the moſt dangerous; and though it does not kill, it infects the mind with deſtructive notions. Having found a proper object, they begin with teaching him to entertain a high opinion of himſelf: this they ſoon effect, by preſenting to him the tempting cup of flattery, of which almoſt every man will drink deeply, and ſoon become intoxicated. It operates on him, ſo as to make him think well of the wretch that applies it. Having made their entry in the road of favour, they make their progreſs by every act of meaneſs and ſervility human nature is capable of deſcending to; they will be tale-bearers, ſpies, and every thing that's odious, if it will pleaſe. They do not ſcruple to break through every tie of honour, truth, and friendſhip, by reviling and calumniating men of merit, to raiſe themſelves in the eſteem of their benefactor: with all this they have the modeſty to aſſume the character of diligence, ſobriety, and œconomy. The man in power can lay no commands on them that they will not readily execute, be they ever ſo derogatory to their rank and poſt: this to thoſe, who have only a ſuperficial knowledge of the Scots, will ſeem repugnant to their great characteriſtic, pride; but every one who thoroughly knows the men, will allow they have the art of putting on the ſpecious forms of meekneſs and gentleneſs, and ſmothering their natural and inherent pride and arrogance, when they find it neceſſary: an uncommon ſhare of penetration

netration therefore, joined to a knowledge o their characters, is almoſt inſufficient to detect their perfidies, ſo artfully are they maſked by an eternal ſhew of purity and virtue. Thus an honeſt unſuſpecting Engliſhman becomes blinded, and conſiders this crocodile, this abject wretch, as deſerving his favour and confidence. The flatterer having thus ſeated himſelf in the chair of favouritiſm, never fails to occupy it with intolerable pride and deſpotiſm. Having got the aſcendancy over his infatuated maſter, he generally betrays the truſt repoſed in him; he attends only to his own intereſt, without paying the leaſt regard to that of his maſter: it is his invariable plan, after having well taken care of himſelf and his beggarly relations, to devote himſelf to the ſervice of his greedy countrymen; they readily quit their wretched and barren place of nativity, for promiſed proviſion from their laird, amongſt whom he deals his favours, without even beſtowing one thought of an Engliſhman, let his merit be ever ſo conſpicuous.

The Scottiſh ſlaviſh notions makes them fit for a ſtate of ſubordination, and as much unfit for a place of power in Engliſh affairs; they no ſooner arrive at it, than their extreme pride and arrogance (which they before can ſo well conceal) breaks out in a manner that makes it inſupportable to every man educated in true Engliſh principles; they have an averſion to every thing that does not ſavour of ſervility, proſtitution, and an entire devotion

to their arbitrary and tyrannical wills; their authority therefore can only be bore by their ſlaviſh countrymen, whoſe perſeverance is always amply rewarded by their partial chief, in a manner highly detrimental to every Engliſhman, and to this nation in general. The laſt diſtribution of favours was amongſt the Scots; there were four all at once well provided for, in prejudice of Engliſhmen, who had ſuperior rank in the army, and whoſe pretenſions from birth and ſervice was much greater than thoſe of the Scots.

I am credibly informed, there is a Scottiſh aſſociation to procure for themſelves the iſland of St. John, in the gulph of St. Lawrence. I am afraid they have already obtained a promiſe of it. This, I think, is no ſmall proof of the foreſight of the Scots; their cunning in this is very evident, that land being by much preferable to any yet uncultivated in North America; its ſituation a good one, a proof of which is, that its vegetation is a month earlier than any other ſpot, and what I believe makes it more deſirable is, its being an iſland: The all-graſping Scots I am afraid will have it, in preference to Engliſhmen, who were employed as well as the Scots in that part of the world, and whoſe every other pretenſion is at leaſt equal to theirs.

I congratulate my countrymen on the ſpirit they begin to ſhew, of not tamely ſuffering the covetous Scots to creep up the ladder of preferment without any pretenſions, and moſt ſincerely wiſh to ſee their influence ſomewhat abated,

abated, insomuch at least, that my own countrymens may be equal, and not be thrown out of all hopes of promotion. In short, I should be glad to see merit (be the man of what country he will) paid proper regard to; which, I am sorry to say, is not now the case.

JUSTUM.

THE Scots, notwithstanding what they affect to appear, and what some Scotchified, pensioned, influenced, and prostituted Englishmen are endeavouring to make them appear, are in reality the enemies and rivals of all Englishmen: they are their enemies, insomuch, at least they will never be their friends, whilst a countryman, worthy or worthless, capable or incapable, with pretensions or without any, is in the question; their national prejudice leads them to the most manifest acts of injustice, and disregard to the real good of this country. It is notorious, that a Scot in power will always deviate from the rules of equity and impartiality, by neglecting and slighting men of worth, of any country, except his own, tho' the merit of the latter cannot by any means be put in competition with that of the former; the inevitable consequences of which are, jealousies and animosities between the two nations. The Scots themselves have been the people that have always made distinctions; it is the partiality of their countrymen in power, that has been the means of the present outcries and declamations against them; to them, I say, they

ſhould attribute the dangerous revival of old quarrels and diſagreements, which otherwiſe would have been buried in oblivion. It is only a laudable and juſtifiable reſentment of the wrongs and groſſeſt affronts offered to all Engliſhmen, by a total diſregard to every pretenſion they have of promotion. Nothing is more natural, than that men of conſcious worth, if injured and oppreſſed, ſhould remonſtrate and declare their wrongs; the moſt timid and impotent animal, if hurt, will ſhew ſome reſentment to the author of its pain, and in turn will make ſome effort of retaliati on. This is what the modeſt Scots have the preſumption to call licentiouſneſs and turbulence; ſuch like are the epithets the miniſte rial tools are pleaſed to beſtow on the preſent commendable reſentment ſhewn to Scottiſh influence; an influence ſo baneful to this country, by extending itſelf even to rebels and traytors, and excluding and ſuperceding the beſt ſubjects and moſt zealous friends our moſt gracious ſovereign has.

The approbation the Scots ſhew of the preſent proceedings is as eaſily to be accounted for as our diſapprobation; they have conſtantly the pleaſure of favours diſpenſed among them, we the mortification of ſeeing ourſelves deprived of our ſhare of them and laviſhed on them; we have the miſery to be ſenſible of a power exiſting, which is a barrier againſt the juſtice this nation owes its own offspring, and effectually blocks up the avenues of favour to all but aliens and peregrinators, by birth beggars,

gars, educated in ſlaviſh notions, whoſe former rebellions and treacherous conduct render them obnoxious; we daily ſee them introduced irregularly over the heads of men of honour, birth, and fortune.

Scottiſh influence and power, I am afraid, is not yet arrived at its meridian; tho' the E. of B. has no longer the title of p——m——, every body is of opinion he is ſtill in poſſeſſion of the power; it is to his intereſt the preſent practice of promoting Scots is attributed; he ſeems now, if poſſible, more induſtrious than ever in raiſing his countrymen to places of honour and truſt, ſo that it is more than probable, they ſoon will have the ſole adminiſtration of Engliſh affairs in their own hands, the conſequences of which will be ſeverely felt by every Engliſhman, who will thereby be totally excluded all advantages of Britiſh ſubjects, and whoſe ruin will commence with the power of Scotland.

JUSTUM.

LETTER X.

THE real diſlike the Engliſh have of the Scotch, is by no means founded on ſo immaterial a circumſtance, as *the particular ſpot of earth they are born on*; but on the long experience they have, that, *thoſe born on that particular ſpot*, have, almoſt to a man, the diſagreeable, (and I may add, to *England*) hurtful qualities, ſo often aſcribed to them, viz. *an extreme want of delicacy in perſon and cuſtoms, a ſolemn pedantic affectation of learning*,

ing, a great ſhare of hautineſs to thoſe beneath them, with an unmanly meaneſs, to thoſe they expect favour from; and above all, *a deep-rooted national ſelfiſhneſs, beyond any people on the face of the earth*; and till they can clear themſelves of theſe charges, it will be in vain to repeat the ſtale attempt of loading the Engliſh with an abſurdity, that men of very moderate underſtandings could not poſſibly fall into.

W. L. D.

LETTER XI.

THE courtiers complain of the miſchiefs of party; and they have reaſon, for it has done them conſiderable hurt: it has tainted their morals, and quite deſtroyed their veracity. They deſerve to go by the denomination of *the lying party*. Not a week paſſes but they attempt to impoſe ſome ſolemn falſhood upon the nation. One day, a gentleman, upon a conſiderable wager, has been at Dunkirk, and found that the French have almoſt been too punctilious in their obſervance of the late unparallelled treaty, and have gone near to deſtroy the town itſelf and its inhabitants, rather than leave a ſtone of offence. Before this lie is cold, out comes a grave aſſurance, that we have not a more ſatisfied ally in the world than the king of Pruſſia: ſome of his family are to marry all our princeſſes; he never thought of demanding one ſhilling of us: nay, I do not know but next week he may ſend the earl of B — a diamond-hilted ſword, or intend to make a viſit to his grace the duke

of

of B—— at Wooburn, in return for the glorious peace which they concluded for him. But the moſt frequent romance of theſe political fabuliſts, is a coalition of parties, the point it ſeems which they have moſt at heart, next to begging and buying addreſſes on the peace, which, they hope, will prevent its being called in queſtion next ſeſſion; while the pains they have taken to get it applauded, prove to demonſtration how conſcious they are of what they deſerve for having concluded it. Sore they muſt be on that head, when the grave dignitaries of the law and church are commiſſioned to puff it on circuits and in ſermons, to ſerve the low purpoſes of political craft.

With regard to a coalition they are not at all ſucceſsful. The gentlemen in oppoſition will not be bribed; nor will they be divided. They who have been tried have anſwered like men: and though one day reviled as ambitious, and the next tempted to be ſo, they have replied with firmneſs; and ſome of the chiefs have declared, "that nothing ſhall move them to deſert their friends, nothing ſhall draw them back to court, while the deliverer of his country is proſcribed there by the Scottiſh favourite and his agents." Let *the lying party*, if they can, deny that ſuch offers have been lately made, and have been rejected with ſcorn.

JOHN.

LETTER XII.

To the Minſters and late Negotiators.

WHAT! ſirs, is yours boaſted treaty already blown up? Nothing but armaments going forward? Is this the ſecurity you have purchaſed ſo dearly? For this did you reſtore our moſt valuable conqueſts? Is this the ſucceſs of all the court you paid to France, of all the ſacrifices you made to her?

While at war, all Europe feared us: ſince the peace, we do nothing but tremble! And well we may: You *would* have a peace, and you got ſuch an one, as made you odious at home, and contemptible abroad. And bad as it was, half the artic'es are violated already. Dunkirk is *not* demoliſhed: not a ſhilling is paid or will be paid of all the ſums due to us. The Indians are excited to diſturb us in the poſſeſſion of our new ſettlements, *which they could not have done in Martinico, Guadaloupe, and the Havannah.* Flat bottom boats were ſent for trial to fetch their priſoners, and you tamely ſuffered it. The French know your ſituation, they know you are ſo unpopular, that you dare not murmur at their inſolence and infractions of the treaty; they know you dare not aſk an explanation, becauſe you dare not let your countrymen ſee what officious dupes you have been——but why do I talk of the French? Since mr. Pitt retired, we are fallen to be the laughing-ſtock of Europe—— and for you, ſirs, even the Dutch p——ſs upon you!

JOHN.

LETTER XIII.

THERE have lately been ſent about anonymous heads of an act of parliament, tending to lay a tax on dogs. Who this nameleſs perſon is who takes upon himſelf to *inflict* taxes on his countrymen, we do not know; and conſidering the indignation of mankind at the late *exciſe* perhaps he is in the right to conceal himſelf, ſince in theſe impudent heads he ventures not only to propoſe a new tax, as if we were not already ſufficiently loaded with them, but has the confidence to affront us with requiring, that it may be collected by exciſemen. If new taxes are wanted, let ſportſmen be taxed; there is not a more miſchievous or uſeleſs ſet of men in the community. They are rich and idle, the proper ſubjects for taxation. But the intended bill is evidently calculated againſt the poorer ſort, who this undertaker ſeems to think may be inſulted and oppreſſed with impunity; and as the bill is contrived for the diverſion of the gentry, he has no doubt but it will readily paſs. Not the leaſt neceſſity is pretended; no, nor the leaſt utility. It is for the preſervation of the game, which the rich are determined to engroſs to themſelves; hares, partridges, pheaſants, the gifts of God, being too good for farmers, huſbandmen and labourers! For ſome years theſe preſervers of game, ſtuffed the papers, even during hard froſts, with lies about mad dogs. At laſt finding that theſe lies got no ground

ground, they have thrown off all decency and pretences; and now avowedly demand a new tax which will ſecure their pleaſures; for the pleaſures of the gentry are a ſufficient anſwer to the ſufferings of the poor. It is not two years ſince a new and oppreſſive game act was paſſed, merely to humour a Scotch lord who hires a hunting-box in a ſouthern county of England. But we will tell theſe Nimrods that the people are ſick of theſe encroachments, and expect other things of their repreſentatives than exciſe-laws and game acts. *Farmers*, the moſt uſeful body of men in this kingdom, who are as free as the greateſt lords, and who have as much right and title to pleaſures, and are much leſs apt to abuſe them, have been treated of late years, like the Peaſants in Poland, and have been no more conſidered. But they may thank themſelves: if they would reflect on their own power and weight in the conſtitution, they might eaſily aſſert their rights. Let them ſhut their fiſts againſt corruption, and exert themſelves and their influence at elections, they would ſoon find a change in their conditions. Let them truſt no man as their repreſentative but whom they can depend upon: let them refuſe their votes to all who have concurred in arbitrary meaſures; let them ſhow they know their own weight, and they will become, as they ought to be, an eſſential part of the freeſt government in the world.

A candidate, who expects favour from electors, cannot complain if they give him their

their votes on their own terms. When an Emperor is choſen, the electors oblige him to ſign a capitulation; by which, at every election, the people acquire ſome new privileges. A general election is the ſeaſon when the people might be ſure of obtaining redreſs of their grievances. But if they like ready money better, they cannot complain if every little attorney ſets up for a legiſtator, and curries favour with the great, by framing aſſociations for the preſervation of the game, inventing new taxes, and ſubjecting our very dogs to the inſpection of exciſemen. A warning this to the people of the danger of any innovation, and of how little hopes there are that the late cyder act will be repealed. No ſooner is an *exciſe* laid on cyder, than ſome tools of the great demand it ſhould be extended to dogs. They ſee the adminiſtration is diſpoſed to arbitrary meaſures, and the engine that was applied to the ſervice of the government, is in ſix months to be made uſe of for the mere pleaſures of the nobility and gentry.

If new taxes are wanted, and uſeleſs animals are to be taxed, hunters and race horſes are obviouſly proper, and great lords may try how they like to have their ſacred ſtables viſited by exciſemen.

PAUPER.

LETTER XIV.

——— fuit hæc ſapientia quondam,
Publica privatis ſecernere, ſacra profanis.

HOR.

THE effects of actions demonſtrate their tendency; but it is the intention and deſign of them that mark the character, and prove the ſpirit of the agent. The more cloſely the conduct of the miniſter, who *ſtill* continues to *act*, though not to *appear* as viſibly as before he reſigned his office, is examined, the reſult will be more firmly to convince the impartial obſerver, that the *principle* of his adminiſtration was a determined purpoſe to make peace at any rate. He ſaw it was the only *chance* he had of ſecuring to himſelf the abſolute domination over this country, to which he aſpired; and which, it is well known, he had projected, before the commencement of the preſent reign unlocked the priſon of his ambition, that had been working deep under-ground, when it could not act above board. It has indeed been pretended that he was forced to take the reins of government into his hands, to do the kind office to the nation, which no other would undertake, of putting an end to a bloody and conſuming war; and that he even ſtipulated with the —— for leave to retire as ſoon as he ſhould have executed that generous and arduous enterprize, for the ſalvation of a ſtate *ruined with ſucceſſes*. Of this, however, we heard nothing, till the involuntary abdication *ſeemed* to

to take place; when it was circulated with all the exactneſs of written orders from a commander in chief, by the buſy emiſſaries of the retired leader; and every ſign and appearance attending the riſe and operations, and even the ſurrender of the power that was interred with as great *ceremony*, and no more *reality*, than nuns are when they take the *veil*, muſt, upon the ſlighteſt reflection, have convinced thoſe who knew the leaſt of the ſchemes that had been meditated by the *favourite* before his viſible elevation, that the *miniſter* was but *hid* when he appeared to fall; and that his influence only ſtepped *behind* inſtead of giving way. Like one *trained to the theatre*, the proud *ſimular*, mimicking the comlineſs of dying for his country, concluded the *Patria-Tragedy* by *feigning* to expire upon the *ſtage*, but *acted* the ſlain *hero* ſo ill as to diſcover the motions of the living *Cadaver* even before the *curtain* was dropt. The wounds which he did *really* feel, received in a ſharp engagement, and not alleviated by a miſerable victory, ripened the reluctant purpoſe of putting an end to his *public* miniſtry, as the only means left of enjoying the fruit of his *ſecret* credit: and, if any thing was wanting to conſummate the character of his adminiſtration, he finiſhed it with a ſolemn ſacrifice of honour and veracity offered up by a w——man, to atone for the folly and imprudence of a weak miniſter *.

A

* *Quere.* Who aſſured a certain great aſſembly, upon his honour, that it was a *factious*

lye,

A good peace was the greateſt bleſſing the nation could have deſired, and a legitimate ſhare in making it, an honour unworthy of no ambition: but to ſupplant the patriot and popular miniſter, who had the beſt title and the fitteſt capacity to complete the glory of the war he had ſo happily conducted, in order to raiſe a pillar of fame upon his *borrowed* foundation, was a meaneſs incident to pride, and inconſiſtent with merit. To conclude an *inadequate* peace, on purpoſe to ſuperſede unrivalled *talents for war* (which envious detraction itſelf allows to the illuſtrious ſtateſman who was thrown out of the ſervice of his country when in poſſeſſion of its higheſt confidence and favour, merited by the wiſe counſels, ſpirited operations, diſintereſted conduct, and incorrupted purity of his adminiſtration) was making a *property* of the nation; ſacrificing its glory and intereſt to the arrogance and ambition of an incapable miniſter: and betraying the faith of the throne, which ſtood pledged that no terms ſhould be yielded to, but ſuch as were juſt, honourable, and ſatisfactory.

No war is juſtifiable which is not carried on with a view to make peace as ſoon as it can be done with ſafety: but that peace promiſes very

lye, that ever he had promiſed his endeavours to procure a repeal of the cyder act, if the city of London would agree not to petition the king againſt paſſing it; a fact eſtabliſhed to the ſatisfaction of every body, by the enquiry made in the Common Council, which clearly ſhewed who was the *lyer*?

very little to be good, which is not its own *chief end.* The principal aim of an action muſt always have the prevailing influence in the choice and uſe of the means employed to accompliſh it. When peace is degraded from being the primary object of itſelf, and purſued by a miniſter for the ſake of ſome other end which is chiefly in his view, that to which it is made ſubſervient will govern the conduct of the negotiation; and the conditions of the treaty, bend to the deſigns which the miniſter who makes the peace means by it to promote or ſecure for himſelf, in oppoſition to the intereſt of his country. Invincible neceſſity itſelf is hardly a greater enemy to the happy concluſion of an unfortunate war, than the ſelfiſh and intereſted views of thoſe poſſeſſed of the power of a proſperous country, entitled to dictate terms of reconciliation to the enemy, when it happens that the continuation of the war is incompatible with their retaining the power they have in their hands. Where patriotiſm is the prevailing principle, ambition, reſentment, and conqueſt, will yield to the bleſſings of peace, and an honeſt concern for the nation, command every reaſonable conceſſion that can ſmooth the way to it: but the deſire of reſtoring peace, when founded only in a regard for the happineſs to be derived from it, and not compelled by the unſurmountable difficulties of war, will not induce the moſt pacific miniſter, who has nothing at heart but the welfare of his country, to ſacrifice its juſt rights and claims, or to depart from a reaſonable

ſonable ſecurity of its eſſential intereſts, to attain a tranſient and uncertain tranquillity.

An argument which has been much urged in favour of the miniſter who made the peace, is "that it was *more advantageous* than that which mr. Pitt *would* have made when he was in power." If coſiſtency could be expected where truth is deviated from, ſuch an apology would never have been made; for it, at once, cuts up by the roots the great pretence of merit in lord Bute's undertaking to put an end to the war, becauſe no other body would; ſeeing it clearly proves that mr. Pitt was very much diſpoſed to have made a peace if he could: And ſo far it is true, that the peace which that great miniſter would have agreed to, was not the peace he himſelf wiſhed, and thought the ſituation and claims of this country were entitled to. He publicly declared in a certain aſſembly, where he might, if he could have been contradicted, that inſtead of courting a breach with Spain (which was alledged in proof of his love of war) he had rather riſked his reſponſibility by forbearance towards that haughty court; and inſtead of retarding a peace with France, he had, to preſerve harmony at home, and to accelerate an end to the burdens of war, been over perſuaded by thoſe with whom he ſerved in the adminiſtration, to yield to conceſſions he could not approve, and which he hoped no miniſter would again venture to agree to. Mr. Pitt is repreſented as the *inflexible* miniſter, whom

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no peace would content, becauſe he wiſhed for none: He is the *miniſter of war*; blood is his element; conqueſt his rage; and battles his food! Yet to *eke* out the praiſe on lord Bute's peace, it is called *better* than mr. Pitt's would have been. So that mr. Pitt was ſtill more *pacific* than lord Bute; and not ſo attentive to the national intereſt in the terms he agreed to. How conſiſtent theſe!

It is indeed but *falſe* luſtre which a *foil* gives; and if it is the beſt thing that can be ſaid for the peace, that it is not the worſt that might have been made, or not quite ſo bad as another would have concluded, it is but a poor commendation; and a ſorry ſatisfaction for the blood and treaſure that have been expended to procure it. The aſſertion, however, that "the peace is more advantageous than that mr. Pitt would have made when in power," is only a ſtricture of faſhionable *fallacy*: A *relative advantage* may be a *real damage*: Many things that are *better* than others, are yet in themſelves very *bad*. To make a fair compariſon between mr. Pitt's treaty and lord Bute's peace, the nation muſt be put into the ſame circumſtances, both of *coſt* and *conqueſt*, at the time of the one as of the other. For there may be *more acquired*, and yet *leſs gained*, when the account is fairly ballanced. The *moſt advantageous* terms may be the *leaſt adequate*, when all circumſtances are duly conſidered. Conditions that are *in themſelves* moſt lucrative, may be of the ſmalleſt profit, and the moſt *unſuitable*, when eſtimated

eſtimated by an equal rule of proportion, and judged of by the true ſtandard of ſituation, capacity, and opportunity. If the late peace is brought to this teſt, it will be a hard taſk to prove the ſuperiority; and not very eaſy to demonſtrate the equality of the terms of it, to thoſe adhered to by mr. Pitt, in the former negociations.

The reaſon of mr. Pitt's not *agreeing* to *farther conceſſions*, and of lord Bute's not *inſiſting* upon *greater advantages*, is to be found in their different characters, and the *oppoſite principles* by which they were led. The *one* could not be more eager to have *any*, than the *other* was deſirous to have a *good* peace. Mr. Pitt was anxious to relieve his proſperous but bleeding country from the burdens and hardſhips of a heavy, tho' ſucceſsful war: lord Bute was ſolicitous to reſcue his own unpopular and unſtable adminiſtration form the perils and dangers of diſtracted councils, difficult undertakings, and doubtful ſupport. The *great miniſter*, inſenſible to intereſt, but inſeparable from integrity, with his *patriot* principles, ſeconded by abilities, and ſuſtained by reputation, ſpread terror abroad, and diffuſed aſſurance at home: conſcious of the ſtrength, and confident of the aſſiſtance of his country; tender of its force, but tenacious of its rights; truſting to the juſtice of the cauſe, and encouraged by the experience of the vigour of England; had *firmneſs* to reſiſt the inſidious offers of an humbled enemy, and *courage* to deſpiſe the inſolent threats of a haugh y court:

founded

founded upon theſe pillars, his reſolution was bold, and his ſpirit unſhaken, *equally* to engage a formidable league, as to contend with a ſingle power; therefore he was not terrified to accept of inglorious or inadequate terms of peace; but, with magnanimous intrepidity, ſtaked his favour with the people, and ventured his influence with the prince, in timely breaking off the negociation with the French king, and adviſing, NOT a *precipitate rupture*, BUT a *categorical explanation* with the Spaniard; and his name is illuſtrated in the annals of fame, by the *pitiful* and *perſonal* reſentment of thoſe two crowns levelled at him, as the miniſter of this kingdom, in whom they dreaded the bravery of the nation. The *little minion* attached to power, and accuſtomed to arrogance, the ſlave of ambition, and mancipated to tyranny, feeling his own incapacity, and preſſed with his danger, without character and credit, deſtitute of the abilities, and deprived of the counſels, of which he had *rid* himſelf, and robbed the throne; proud of royal captivity; favouritiſm his foundation; corruption his reſource; deaf to the cries, and dead to the love of the public; purſued with the diſregard, and perſecuted with the deriſion of the people; the contempt of the wiſe, and the ſcorn of the witty; the prop of Jacobites, and the tool of Tories; a ſcourge of Whigs; an oppreſſor of liberty; intoxicated with the ſway of a court, but mortified with the diffidence of the common-wealth; generally hated, and

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almoſt univerſally diſliked; what *would* he, what *could* he do? Juſt what he did. Unequal to the charge he had *fondly* undertaken; too weak for one war, and cruſhed with the weight of a duplicate; he muſt reſign his poſt, or *reſpite* hoſtilities. His determination was according to his delight: he loved power, and therefore begged peace. An indifferent one he knew he could ſoon, and without much conteſt make; and he durſt not venture a diſpute or delay for a better; ſo he *wrote* away the acquiſitions of the war, and what might have been the ſecurity of a peace; and with the blundering daſh of a pen diſhonoured the crown, diſgraced himſelf, and diſcontented the nation.

The *principle* of this conduct was very bad, but it was ſenſible, and founded in experience. They are very ignorant who do not know the difference there is to a miniſter between peace and war. It is of importance even in arbitrary governments, but of irreſiſtible efficacy in this free country. Government ſupports itſelf in time of peace, and miniſters have leſs hard work to do, and no extraordinary demands to make, conſequently they have leſs dependence upon the people. In time of war it is quite otherwiſe. There is not only exerciſe for the firſt rate abilities, but large ſupplies muſt be raiſed; and if the people are not ſatisfied with the conduct of affairs, and have confidence in adminiſtration, they will not give their money if their repreſentatives ſhould vote credit for it, and the machine will come

come to a ſtand. This has, in former times, produced changes in the miniſtry at critical ſeaſons, and lord Bute ſaw his danger. To ward it off by concluding a peace was his ſole ſtudy; *that* the object of his whole ſyſtem. Power, corruption, and art, ſupplied the place of ſound politics; and nothing that could by any device be removed, was ſuffered to obſtruct the neceſſary work of peace, if any way of *putting an end to a war* can be called by that comprehenſive name: neither the terms, the time, the manner, nor the means, were allowed to embarraſs, if the end aimed at could in any way be attained.

In this as in other inſtances, we have a ſtrong proof how intimately the domeſtic and foreign affairs of a country are connected. The miniſter that purſues a bad ſyſtem at home, will very naturally, and muſt often neceſſarily adopt one that is erroneous abroad. As there is always an uniformity and conſiſtency in ſound politics, there muſt be ſome correſpondence in thoſe that are bad. The miniſter, for the ſake of his own purſuits at home, departed from the ſyſtem in which England was engaged, and ought to have purſued, with reſpect to foreign powers. If reverſing the natural and approved ſyſtem of a country, throwing off its beſt alliances, and wounding national faith and honour, is an offence, we know who may be charged with it. The circumſtances of perfidy and deceit attending the behaviour towards ſome of our allies, as well as the end for which they were treated in the manner

manner they were, conſtitute matter of heavy imputation, more than ſufficient, if there had been nothing worſe, to render any miniſter, acceſſary to it, unworthy of that truſt, and deſerving of a much greater cenſure than being removed from his ſovereign's *preſence* and councils for ever.

LETTER XV.

WE have obſerved with indignation and contempt, the variety of arts made uſe of by the Butiſts and Tories to carry their point; but we hope the watchfulneſs of our countrymen is ſufficiently alive to defeat them all. It ſhall be our parts to detect them as faſt as they come in our way, tho' moſt of them are ſo ſhallow, that they would not impoſe upon nurſes and children. Their views are ſo odious, and their cabal ſo mercenary, that it would require ten times more abilities than the preſent generation of Tories poſſeſs, even to colour them over. Then their intemperance is ſo great, and their folly ſo ungovernable, that half their writers blab the very ſecrets which it ſhould be their buſineſs to conceal in internal darkneſs. Would any man in his ſenſes believe that there could be found ſo ſilly a tool as to addreſs a whole county juſt before an election, recommending to them to give their votes to no candidate who would not declare himſelf previouſly againſt the liberty of the preſs and privileges of parliament? Yet this has been the caſe. A hot-headed Scot has publiſhed a letter lately in the Scotch London

London Chronicle, in which he gives this infamous advice to the freeholdholders of Eſſex. We are aſhamed to find that any Engliſh is ſtained with ſuch ſlaviſh councils, and warn the printers, as they reſpect the good will of their countrymen, never more to admit ſuch doctrines into their papers. We wiſh the writer himſelf would make a progreſs round the county, ſcattering bawbees, and crying, *No liberty of the preſs, no privilege of parliament; wooden ſhoes and exciſe for ever!* We ſhould like to ſee the candidate that would make ſuch a promiſe; but we ſhould like better to ſee, what we certainly ſhould ſee, ſuch a wretch, if returned, expelled with ignominy and abhorrence out of the houſe of commons. It is hoped that the propoſal itſelf will be complained of their next ſeſſion.

It excites no ſmall part of our indignation, that ſuch a mercenary tool as the writer of that letter ſhould aſſume the character of a clergyman, without ſpecifying that he is a *divine* of the kirk, or of the church of Rome. Of the church of England he certainly is not. We do not know a ſingle vicar of *our* church, who has diſgraced his country and profeſſion by any open declaration of arbitrary principles. A more rational ſpirit prevails: the ſame ſpirit which did ſo much honour to our clergy in the laſt rebellion, when the Scotch would have given us an Italian king. In our hearts we do not believe that this writer is a member of any clergy, unleſs he is a jeſuit: but we have no doubt that for half a crown more than what

he was paid for writing that letter, he would recommend the inquiſition.

As the Butiſts and Tories cannot govern us, they try to divide us, an old ſtale trick, practiced to no purpoſe by their predeceſſors in the reign of James II. when his prieſts thought to gain the diſſenters, by offering them a toleration. The trick now in vogue with theſe mungril politicians is to raiſe animoſities between different counties, and under cover of thoſe heats to pin down exciſe upon us. Hence the pains they take to inflame the venders of beer againſt the groaning proprietors of cyder: but can any ſet of men be ſuch gudgeons as to ſwallow this jeſuitical hook? Is it forgotten how the laſt winter the odium of the tax on porter was thrown on mr. Pitt, by men who flattered the populace with the hopes of having it taken off? Which they neither did, nor ever attempted to do; for they did not mean to relieve any body of men, but to make them quarrel with the preſerver of his country. If there is one man, who is not a Jacobite, a Tory, or a renegado Whig, who tries to ſow diſſention thus between the retailers of beer and cyder, we own ourſelves calumniators, and adviſe the beer-drinkers to divide themſelves from the cyder merchants, and to throw themſelves on the mercy of the tender-hearted favourite.

The wickedneſs of this attempt to create jealouſies between different counties, is a glaring proof that there is no length which the Butiſts and Tories would not go to rivet

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the yoke upon our necks: and they muſt be corrupt or ſenſeleſs Engliſhmen, who will lend their aſſiſtance to ſuch an odious ſcheme. If an Engliſhman was to try to divide the highlands and lowlands, in order to ſubject Scotland to England, the Scotch in a body would drive him out of their country.

The fictitious clergyman in the letter above-mentioned, has taken upon him to give the freeholders of Eſſex advice. We ſhall imitate him, but upon a more national plan, and we ſhall ſee whether they will take Scotch or Engliſh advice. We adviſe them to ſtand by the cyder-counties, that the inhabitants of the cyder-counties may ſtand by them againſt any future innovations; for nothing but a *general aſſociation* can ſave us from arbitrary power which is coming upon us. We counſel them to give their votes to no candidates, but who will engage his honour to ſupport the liberty of the preſs and the privileges of the houſe of commons; who will ſwear to accept no penſion, but will promote an inquiry into the liſt of penſioners; and above all, who has no connection with, or dependence on, the Scotch favourite. This is conſtitutional advice; the other is jeſuitical. The one will keep you free, the other will make you ſlaves.

MANY.

P. S. We adviſe our countrymen to ſet their mark on thoſe Scottified Engliſh, who are doing the dirty work of the favourite, and who labour to create diſſentions between the eaſtern and weſtern counties. *Remember thoſe renegadoes at the next general election.*

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LETTER XVI.

Decipimur ſpecie recti. HOR.

GRatitude is far from being the moſt binding principle amongſt men; and it has the leaſt force with princes; as, on the other hand, reſentment is one of the moſt powerful motives of their conduct: yet good, as well as bad offices, done by one country to another, do ſometimes in their turn meet with the recompence they deſerve. It is therefore the maxim of ſound politics in every ſtate, to oblige, rather than offend their neighbours: and the ſtore of favours conferred may juſtly be eſteemed part of the ſtrength of a nation. But it muſt be *tenere gratæ, compede vinctum.* The boaſting of favours always leſſens their value; and few things are more irritating, in the commerce of communities, as well as of individuals, than aſſuming the merit of doing a kindneſs, when there is not any either received or intended. To colour over injuries with that ſpecious name, is the moſt provoking indignity to human nature, and the higheſt affront to the princely ſtate.

Foreign conections are an eſſential part of the ſyſtem of all countries, and it is of real importance to the public, eſpecially in a government like this, where the ſenſe of the people has ſuch influence upon the conduct of adminiſtration, that miſtaken notions do not prevail either as to the ties of friendſhip or the cauſes of alienation, which ſubſiſt between us and other powers; more particularly thoſe which

which are, or ought to be ſtrictly united with us, by the ſame intereſt in the common cauſe of liberty, and the proteſtant religion.

A letter publiſhed in your paper of the 23d inſtant, ſigned G. T. contains the following paragraph: "As to the king of Pruſſia, I aſſert from the preliminaries again, and appeal to them, and fact alſo, that our court delivered him from the French army, and ſo enabled him to make a peace to his own ſatisfaction, which perhaps, he himſelf thinks the greateſt favour we could have done him; for after all, he alone would have had but a poor chance againſt both France and Auſtria."

The perſon who makes this aſſertion, certainly thinks that what he ſays ought to have been true; and the fact averred is ſo correſpondent to the natural ſyſtem of this country, that it is a pity there ſhould be any room to doubt it. If it be true that England has *done the greateſt favour* to the king of Pruſſia that ſhe *could do*, he is much obliged to her; if he *thinks ſo*, we may expect his grateful returns; and there ſhould now ſubſiſt a very cordial friendſhip between the two courts: if the caſe is different, the conſequences muſt be different; and they will be of greater or leſs moment, as the friendſhip of that prince is more or leſs valuable or deſirable to this nation. The fact therefore is well worthy of attention.

If England has done a very great favour to the king of Pruſſia, it has, it is believed, this

enhancing

enhancing quality, that the intention was unknown to him; for there is reaſon to think that the miniſtry of this country did not correſpond much with the court of Berlin, upon the treaty of pacification negociated at Verſailles: and it is pretty certain that, in return, the king of Pruſſia gave the court of London no communications of the treaty he concluded with the powers at war with him. There were not *then*, nor are there *now*, any ſigns of ſuch a friendly correſpondence between the two courts: and there is too much cauſe to ſuſpect that his Pruſſian majeſty is nothing leſs than ſatisfied with the conduct of the Engliſh miniſtry, with reſpect to him and his concerns. Many, among whom there are ſome not of the leaſt diſcerning, find themſelves at a loſs to diſcover any thing in the *preliminaries* of peace between England and France (to which G. T. aſcribes the effect, inſtead of the *definitive treaty*, to which it has elſewhere, but with ſtill leſs colour of reaſon, been aſcribed) which gives ground to ſay, that WE *enabled the king of Pruſſia to make a peace to his own ſatisfaction.*

The effect of the preliminaries was rather too uncertain a contingent, before the definitive treaty was compleated, to produce ſo great a conſequence to a third power; and indeed they had very nearly miſcarried altogether: but, at the beſt, they did not do what they *might*, and what in policy and good faith they *ought* to have done, towards facilliating a peace for the king of Pruſſia.

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They left him encumbered (in a manner never yet accounted for) with difficulties which they might eaſily have extricated him from, and which he himſelf removed by ſeperate and independent meaſures afterwards taken with France, much more efficacious to the end than any ſtipulation contained in the preliminaries.

If the inclinations of the miniſter who had the honour to make the peace are to be judged of from his conduct we ſhall not ſee ground to believe he deſired to do any great favour to the king of Pruſſia. The preliminaries themſelves ſhew what favour he really did to him.

It was the miniſter who made the peace that broke off the alliance with his Pruſſian majeſty, than which never one was entered into more with the heart of this country; and it was with the approbation of *Leiceſter-houſe*, as well as St. James's. He broke it off againſt the opinion of the duke of Newcaſtle and thoſe other faithful counſellors who continued in his majeſty's ſervice, for ſome time after mr. Pitt's reſignation, till they alſo were driven from court; as well as againſt the earneſt deſire of that great miniſter who had before been expelled from the cabinet. The Pruſſian miniſter then reſiding at this court was indeed amuſed with repeated aſſurances of the ſubſidy being continued; and thoſe who now ſerve the king, can tell if they were not parties to conferrences and promiſes to that purpoſe. But, notwithſtanding

ſtanding theſe pretences, it was the fixed purpoſe of the miniſter, who was above all, and a part of the foundation of his miniſterial ſyſtem, to abandon that alliance, as a ſtep that was intimately connected with his other ſchemes. Miniſterial writers were hired to vilify and traduce the king of Pruſſia in the moſt ſcandalous manner, calling him by the infamous epithet of a royal *free-booter*, though he had been often ſtiled from the throne a magnanimous prince, and a good ally of the crown. They were prompted to maintain, that the bad faith practiſed towards him, was a duty to ourſelves, and juſtifiable by the law of nations.

This was not all. The world is much abuſed if there was not a correſpondence carried on with the court of Peterſbourgh, in which the miniſtry of this country (moſt undoubtedly without his majeſty's knowledge, for the reſpect to the crown obliges us to believe that) in which it was ſaid, or inſinuated, in very ſtrong terms, that we ſhould behold with concern the late emperor's of Ruſſia's withdrawing from the alliance, and recalling his troops from the aſſiſtance of the empreſs queen—That this country did not wiſh that the king of Pruſſia ſhould be aggrandized at the expence of the houſe of Auſtria, but would rather deſire to ſee that power revert to its primitive electorate ſtate. If that fact is not true, the miniſtry of England ought to contradict it; for it is the language that comes from abroad, that his Pruſſian majeſty is poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of authentic documents to ſhew it, tranſmitted to him from the court of Ruſſia. If it be ſo, there never was perhaps ſuch an inſtance of vile duplicity, except the ſtory told of queen's Anne's writing *brotherly* letters to the pretender, when her miniſter was inſtructed to give the warmeſt aſſurances of her friendſhip at the electoral court of Hanover: and nothing could be more oppoſite to the natural ſyſtem of this country. Will it be believed that thoſe capable of ſuch a conduct, did, or could intend to do a favour to the king of Pruſſia?

Let us next ſee what England, in fact, did for his Pruſſian majeſty, upon which this aſſertion is founded, that *it was, and that perhaps even he himſelf thinks it was, the greateſt favour we could have done him.* By the preliminaries it was ſtipulated, that the French troops ſhould *evacuate* the territories and places belonging to the king of Pruſſia. Theſe the French king had declared he had conquered in the name, and held in behalf of, the empreſs queen. The ſtipulation was literally fulfilled, if the places were left to be taken poſſeſſion of by the empreſs queen's own troops. The profeſſed diſtinction between *evacuation*, which was all that was ſtipulated as to the Pruſſian territories, and *reſtitution*, which was the obligation as to Heſſe and Buckbourg, could mean or intend nothing elſe. This, therefore, was giving the empreſs queen the full benefit of the conqueſts made by her ally, and in her name,

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upon the king of Pruſſia; and, ſo far as England could do it, leaving the king of Pruſſia in as bad a ſtate as he was with regard to the empreſs, who was the power he was at war with. He had his dominions ſtill to *ſcramble* for, in the ſtile of the noble miniſter who uſed that ſtrange vulgar phraſe in a great aſſembly. So that it was, clearly, not the preliminaries that put him in poſſeſſion of the places which had been conquered; and the manner in which he did recover them, manifeſtly ſhews how *independent* he was *then* become of ſuch a vain and fruitleſs ſtipulation as that contained in the preliminaries. Thoſe places were agreed to be *reſtored*, and delivered up to the king of Pruſſia, inſtead of being ſimply *evacuated*, before the peace was made between Auſtria and Pruſſia, by virtue of a particular convention, made at the ſpecial inſtance of the moſt chriſtian king, between him and his Pruſſian majeſty: and the conſideration for the reſtitution, was the king of Pruſſia's conſenting to a neutrality for the Auſtrian Netherlands.

The convention itſelf ſhews the ſenſe that both the courts of Vienna and Verſailles had of the ſtrength of the king of Pruſſia, in the ſituation matters were then come to, not only to ſtand his ground againſt the empreſs queen in Germany, but to carry the war againſt her out of the empire; and conſequently it goes far to prove that, if the French troops had not been withdrawn, he might, as he then ſtood, have been able to have defend-

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ed himſelf, and recovered what he had loſt in Germany. It cannot therefore, in that view, be ſaid, with any degree of juſtice, that it was our delivering the king of Pruſſia from the French army, that enabled him to make a peace to his own ſatisfaction.

It would be unfair (which always hurts an argument, as much as it is injurious to truth) to ſay that the king of Pruſſia derived no advantage from the French troops being withdrawn, in conſequence of the article of the preliminaries. It is extremely clear that the Engliſh miniſtry was very little concerned about his intereſt, when they contented themſelves with ſuch a ſimple ſtipulation about his territories. But whatever were their diſpoſitions, they could not come at their own ends without doing what they did, which was the leaſt they could do; and his Pruſſian majeſty reaped ſome indirect and incidental advantage from it. But the queſtion is not, whether the king of Pruſſia had any, or had no benefit from the preliminaries? It, is, whether *this court enabled him to make a peace to his own ſatisfaction, and did him the greateſt favour we could have done?* And I will add, if we did what in juſtice to England ought to have been done? the contrary of that is almoſt, if not altogether, capable of demonſtration.

By the ceſſation of the French arms in Germany, the king of Pruſſia certainly was enabled *immediately* to over-run the empire, and to bring the ſtates of it to a neutrality, and even to penetrate to the gates of Weſel and Cleves,

Cleves, which the united force of England and Pruſſia had not been able to do before, when there were 50,000 Ruſſians in the field, which had done him more miſchief than the combined power of France and Auſtria. But it is far from being improbable, that the king of Pruſſia alone, when delivered from the Ruſſians, would, in a very ſhort time, tho' not quite ſo ſoon have been able to do the ſame thing, if the French troops had ſtill continued to oppoſe him: And if England had adhered to the alliance with Pruſſia, it cannot, according to any probable appearances, be doubted that they together would have been an overmatch for France and Auſtria: The ſucceſs of the operations of the laſt campaign, proved the ſuperiority of the allies, and ſhewed what a proſpect they had of thoroughly retrieving affairs in Germany. They muſt, humanely ſpeaking, have driven the French out of the empire, and recovered all the territories of the allies. That would have brought the war between England and France to its proper ſtate, and in making peace diſincumbered us of all the claims of compenſation for reſtoring the dominions of the German princes, which the miniſterial writers now ſtate as ſo great an article of the acquiſitions of the definitive treaty, to be ſet againſt our ceſſions, which are complained of by the other ſide of the queſtion. The king of Pruſſia would then have been no embarraſſment in making any treaty between England and France. For it is on all hands admitted, that when both the French and

Engliſh armies were out of the queſtion, he was in no danger from the empreſs queen: On the contrary it is clear, that, in that ſtate of things, ſhe had taken the alarm even for her *extra imperial* provinces. The king of Pruſſia had then ſuch a decided ſuperiority in force, finances, conduct, and ſituation of every kind, as to give the law to the court of Vienna.

Such having been the turn and ſtate of affairs, and theſe the conſequences moſt likely to have followed from the events that had happened, the impartial may be left to judge what courſe of conduct would, in the end, have proved moſt for the national intereſt and advantage of England: But what would have been moſt honourable to England, and moſt conſiſtent with our friendſhip and good faith towards a favoured ally of the crown, can be a queſtion with none but thoſe who have an intereſt in doubting, which is the ſtrongeſt motive for denying the fact.

The true ſtate of the caſe is, that the happy change in the ſyſtem of Ruſſia, which took place on the acceſſion of the late emperor, and was adhered to by the preſent empreſs, redreſſed the affairs of his Pruſſian majeſty, and put him into a ſituation not only to protect himſelf, but to be an uſeful ally to this country: And if the peace-making miniſtry of England, which ought not only to have looked upon that change with great complacency, but to have forwarded it if they could, had any merit in it, they are much bely'd by a

fame of that ſort, that it will require a very authentic contradiction to diſcredit the report. By that fortunate alteration of the ſtate of Europe, England and Pruſſia had ſuch a command of France and Auſtria upon the continent, as might have enabled this country to have brought about a general pacification, upon terms the moſt honourable, adequate, and advantageous, both to ourſelves, and to our allies, who had ſuffered in our cauſe. Inſtead of that, domeſtic ambition led thoſe into whoſe hands the power of this country was got, to purſue meaſures by which we abandoned our allies and ſacrificed ourſelves, wounded our national honour, and betrayed the public intereſt.

It was a part of the pacific miniſter's plan, to have withdrawn our troops from Germany, and totally to have abandoned all our allies, upon the continent, as we did the king of Pruſſia, leaving the French to act againſt them, after we had deſerted them. That was one of his firſt movements towards a peace for England; for it was extremely clear that he prompted, tho' he pretended to oppoſe, his very good friends who made the motion in parliament to that purpoſe, and ſupported it with reaſons, which it was avowed were taken from that *uſeful* pamphlet *the conſiderations on the German war*, the author of which was afterwards named to a very good poſt, as a reward for that great ſervice. That probably would not have been found an eaſy buſineſs; and thoſe who moved for it were told ſo at the time

time of the queſtion: but if it had been practicable, it would indeed have been a *maſterpiece* of politics and good faith, which the king of Pruſſia, if driven to an extremity, might have taken revenge for, in a way that would have coſt England very dear in the end. The ſcheme, however, was a proof of the moſt determined diſinclinations to his Pruſſian majeſty, and it is manifeſt the ſame temper prevailed even in making the preliminaries; though there was then a little more art, but indeed hardly any greater decency, uſed to cover it.

By the preliminaries we did ſo far better, than had been propoſed to be done when the motion was made to withdraw our troops from Germany, that we did not leave the French behind us to act offenſively, at leaſt in an open manner. But to examine the merit of the Engliſh miniſtry, in that part of the ſtipulations, as a *favour done by us to the king of Pruſſia*, I ſhould aſk, what miniſter of England would have dared to make a ſeparate treaty with France, by which ſhe ſhould have been left at liberty to act againſt Pruſſia, when we were engaged not to aſſiſt him? The hands of France were tied up in a very ineffectual manner as it was, for French perfidy made the ſecurity very ſlight, that they would not aſſiſt the empreſs queen if they had been able or inclined; and the proviſions about making good paſt ſubſidies gave a very plauſible colour for it. The beſt ſecurity was one for which the king of Pruſſia owed nothing to the Engliſh

miniſtry, which made theſe ſtipulations. It was this: that France was neither very capable, nor very much diſpoſed to have continued their operations in Germany, which were become an inſupportable burden to them, at the ſame time that the end for which they had been gone into, which was to interrupt the operations of England in other parts of the world, had been quite loſt.

Had France been left free to act in her alliance when we were giving up ours, it muſt have been little leſs than a declaration of war by this country againſt the king of Pruſſia. The ſtouteſt reſponſibility might have juſtly trembled for ſuch a conduct towards a near ally of blood, and an heir of entail to the crown, the head of the proteſtant intereſt abroad, who muſt always be either a great ſtrength againſt, or a redoubted ſupport of the power of France, the hereditary enemy of this country, according to the ſide his weight inclines to. Such a meaſure would not have been endured by the friends to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and to the common cauſe of the liberties of Europe, which, it is to be hoped, the greateſt part of the people of England are.

What the Engliſh miniſtry ſeemed to do for the king of Pruſſia, they did for the ſake of their own object of having a peace with France, which they were determined to have at any rate, and could not make, without taking the French out of Germany, if they at all conſulted their own ſafety. They have ſo lit-

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tle to ſtate it as an obligation upon that prince, much leſs to plume themſelves (as the writers for them do) as having *done the greateſt favour we could have done him*, when it is plain they deſerted him in a moſt ſhameful manner, againſt the wiſh and ſenſe of their own country; and when letter of the treaty was but juſt annulled by expiration, which tied up both powers from making peace without mutual conſent. If any collateral advantage did redound to him from the preliminaries (the full value of which has been allowed in the argument) he does not, and he knows he does not, owe it to the good diſpoſitions or intentions of thoſe who handled the power of this country upon that occaſion; who had ſhewn their inclination to let him be oppreſſed by a formidable combination of three powers, the leaſt of which was greater than his own. Upon the whole, it is moſt manifeſtly *ſophiſtical* and *fallacious* to *aſſert from the preliminaries, that our court delivered him from the French army, and ſo enabled him to make a peace to his own ſatisfaction.*

I am, &c.

Aug. 25, 1763.

PRO FIDE & VERITATE.

The CONTRAST. No. I.

June 29, 1763.

Hic motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta.
Pulviris exegui jactu, compreſſa quieſcunt.
VIRG.

THERE is not a more certain characteriſtic of a good and great man, than his reſting the opinion of mankind on his actions, without diſguiſe or artful repreſentation: nor of a bad one, than his endeavouring at a negative popularity, that is, not doing good, but making a parade of it, and founding his own applauſe on depreciating all his predeceſſors and opponents. The former was the truly noble and exalted conduct of the patriotic miniſter, mr. Pitt. On his coming into power, he attended to his duty only, and immediately put in execution his glorious plan of operations; which, in a little time, retrieved the honour of his creſt-fallen country, and from the ſtate of dejection at home, and contempt abroad, made us a united and happy people, feared and dreaded by thoſe enemies, who, in the Foxonian miniſtry, treated us with ſcorn and ridicule. It was on his merit and integrity he depended, and the diſcerning public did not fail to do him juſtice.

In honour of mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, not out of pique to his ſucceſſors, I muſt obſerve, that there was not one undue meauſure to gain him

him his unrivalled popularity, nor to guard him againſt oppoſition. He intriegued neither with the repreſentative nor borough-holder; he deſpiſed parliamentary connections on ſuch infamous terms. He neither hired abandoned mercenary ſcriblers to be his advocates, nor did he penſion into ſilence, thoſe whoſe half-formed virtue would not ſuffer them to barter his liſt. He was a true friend to liberty of conſcience, without endeavouring to exalt the DISSENTERS in oppoſition to the CHURCH of ENGLAND as lay LAW eſtabliſhed: he never did nor pretended to inculcate in his maſter's cloſet, "That the DISSENTERS were the only people to be CONFIDED in:" nor did he attempt to ingratiate himſelf with theſe reſtleſs biggotted people, by promiſſing a repeal of our religious guardian, the TEST act.* I will not mention his glorious deeds and unparralled ſucceſſes, for they are not only known by every true Engliſhman, but are engraven on his grateful heart: I chuſe to avoid the mentioning of them for another reaſon, which is, leſt I ſhould be ſuppoſed to do it, on the mean principle of inſulting the late important domineering graſper of power, but now fallen pliant Scot.

When this patriot refuſed to be the nominal miniſter, without the power of *guiding* his ſpirited meaſures, according to his conſcience, he was ſucceeded by the Scotchman. I now come

* Vide, if he'll ſhow it, lord Bute's letter to dr. Chandler (a Diſſenting teacher) the night before his departure.

come to my ſecond inſtance, that bad, or weak men, don't depend on their own merit, but on the depreciating others. This is verified by the firſt Gazette after mr. Pitt's reſignation, in which his penſion was ſet forth, and every other circumſtance particularized, that malice could invent, or Scottiſh cunning conceive, would tend to leſſen his deſerved popularity. This kind of narration was, at that time unpreſedented; it ſtaggered the Engliſh for a few days, and gave inexpreſſible pleaſure to the Scotch, at the ſuppoſed ſucceſs of the northern blaſt of Engliſh glory. When theſe arts were deemed inſufficient, a weekly retailer of ſcandal found protection and reward. This was that ridiculous, metaphorical, abandoned ſcribler, the fooliſh Briton. This wretch with an importance, always attendant on folly, undertook to blacken the character of all thoſe who did not ſubmit to the Scotch dictator. The Briton ſoon found in the Auditor, a coadjutor, equally baſe, though not equal in folly. The congenial ſouls of theſe literary Gemini, united in the ſame wicked purſuit. During the Scotch adminiſtration, every thing that was good and great, became a weekly ſacrifice; even natural defects were imputed as horrid crimes; a great foot, a gouty habit, or a ſquint, were ſufficient foundations to repreſent thoſe to whom they belonged, as conſummate villains. The groſſeſt falſities were conſtantly invented, and always aſſerted as facts, till grown too hardy, and laying aſide all attention

tention even to probability, Florida was repreſented as a valuable acquiſition; that its producing turf would make it extremely beneficial to the cold and inclement country called Barbadoes. Had they confined themſelves to private ſcandal, their forgeries could not have been detected by the world in general: but theſe were repugnant to common underſtanding, ſo that the unparallelled effrontery of the Auditor could not ſupport his paper, but like the fooliſh Briton, became ſilent: and the tottering miniſter ſoon followed their example, and retired from view, to play the puppets behind the ſcences. B. X. P.

The CONTRAST. No. II.

July 6, 1763.

From ancient grudge break to new mutiny.
Shakeſpear.

WE have been by the ears for more than twelve months paſt, about our *good* friends the Scotch, whether they have a right to places of truſt and profit, in equal degree with the Engliſh? or whether they ought to be totally excluded? Tho' the whole debate turns on the act of union, yet thoſe ſuperficial zealots, the preſent mercenary political writers, have never aſked the queſtion, whether the union was to unite the crowns or the people? I apprehend the former was done, and the latter never ſo much as intended. The real, and indeed only diſtinction, between one nation and another, conſiſts in the difference of

of their laws, religion, manners, and cuſtoms; and the artachment of the individuals to their national laws and religion is to that degree, that it appears more like inſtinct, than prejudice of education. This is the reaſon why foreign kings have been terrible, why foreign miniſters have been deteſtable, to every nation and in every age. This is the reaſon why kings of different religions from their ſubjects have been dethroned; why miniſters of different nations have been odious, and ſeldom failed of being executed, to appeaſe an incenſed people. The next queſtion in point, and which I ſhould think is deciſive, is, whether the Scotch are really or nominally united? As to their LAWS, I believe even the ſtubborn Scot muſt allow, that they differ from ours, as freedom differs from ſlavery. It was ſince the Scotch rebellion of 1746, that the vaſſalage was taken off; till which time, the lords were abſolute tyrants, and the people mere ſlaves: Tho' the lords have loſt the legal power, the diſpoſition remains, and the people, who were formerly ſlaves by compulſion, are now ſo by choice. Their RELIGION, none can pretend to be the ſame; and, I think, I can aſſert from my own knowledge, that the antipathy of the Scotch to epiſcopacy, is greater than ourſto the church of Rome. Their MANNERS are the moſt diſagreeable part of the Scotch character: they are intolerably proud, inſolent, and ſupercilious to their inferiors; yet ſo ſubſervient, and attentive to their own intereſt, that they

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can, nay, never fail, to cringe to the meaneſt degree, to their ſuperiors. Their natural acquired abilities are, as a body, truly contemptible: out of the infinite numbers in the military capacity, you have never heard of a great general, or admiral. Their talents are only executive. They are valiant, and do honour to their country, when commanding a company, or a ſhip; but when commanders in chief, or in any capacity that requires extenſive knowledge and abilities, they have ever failed. Their learning is a little ſuperficial claſſical knowledge; they have little or no ſcience. The fine arts are not much better underſtood, or reliſhed amongſt the Scotch, than the Hottentots. Their CUSTOMS are too filthy for narration. From theſe reaſons, I infer, that the Scotch are evidently a different people from the Engliſh, as much as the French or Spaniards; and if ſo, that they ought to have no more rule in this country, than the latter; nor indeed ever will, without putting the whole kingdom in a ferment.

What I have thus freely ſubmitted, is not deſigned as a reflection on the Scotch, but as a juſtification of the Engliſh; and to ſhew that their oppoſition to the upſtart SCOT was founded on the moſt rational principles: it proceeded from a zeal for our laws and religion, and was therefore highly commendable, while a tame ſubmiſſion to a medley of Scotch Tories, Non-Jurors, Preſbyterians, &c. would ſo far from being conſiſtent with true Engliſh liberty,

liberty, have entailed an endelible ſtain on this generation, to the lateſt poſterity, and deſervedly made us the preſent contempt of the whole world.

The uſe and nature of national prejudices in general, ſhall be the ſubject of a future CONTRAST. B. X. P.

N. B. The public may depend on the FACT of L. Bute's writing to Dr. Chandler, as mentioned in the laſt CONTRAST. The author would have publiſhed the letter ſome time ſince, if he could have obtained an exact copy; but if the parties do not ſoon communicate the extraordinary contents, he will publiſh his, in the inaccurate ſtate that a letter wrote from memory is like to be. Had the letter been of a private nature, had it only contained the promiſe of advancing, or penſioning a few, he would have ſcorned to have taken notice of it; but when it appears, he is thoroughly ſatisfied that every friend of the church of England will applaud his bringing ſuch underhand tranſactions to the public view: and will for the future dread a PRESBYTERIAN faction as much as a POPISH one.

The CONTRAST. No. III.

July 13, 1763.

It is impoſſible but that offences will come: but wo unto him through whom they come.

St. Luke, ch. xvii. ver. 1.

I DO moſt ſincerely congratulate every true Engliſhman, every friend of liberty, and every

every diſintereſted ſubject, on the righteous verdicts of Wedneſday and Thurſday laſt. From hence, let the tools of power know, that Engliſh liberty is not to be ſported with. That the ſubject is as certain of redreſs from the firſt officer of ſtate, as from the meaneſt magiſtrate in the moſt contemptible borough. That the united eloquence of all the ſtate lawyers, can neither alter laws or facts. And that ſacred Engliſh liberty, handed down to us by our anceſtors, at the expence of their blood and treaſure, ſhall never be infringed with impunity. This is the glorious leſſon from theſe verdicts!

I am, and ever will be, a zealous ſupporter of the dignity of the crown; but no court ſophiſtry ſhall ever perſuade me, that becauſe I love my ſovereign, I muſt, with a blind zeal, applaud the iniquity or ignorance of his ſervants. No; 'tis the flatterer, the temporizer, and penſioner, that out of ſelf-regard indiſcriminately applaud the actions of the powerful. But the honeſt man will deem it the baſeſt of crimes even to remain ſilent, when the public ſervants act inconſiſtent with their duty to their king, and the welfare of the people.

The late attack on the liberty of the preſs, that liberty which is a guardian to all other liberties, by informing the whole kingdom of an individual's wrong, was attended with more aggravating circumſtances than can be parallelled in the hiſtory of any free country in Europe. The iſſuing a general indiſcrimi-

nate warrant, to take into cuſtody printers, publiſhers, and authors, without name or deſcription; without previous determination of the papers being criminal; without oath, to ground the proceeding on; without a better pretence than deceitful private tittle-tattle, or fallacious public report, was a tranſaction that muſt make every Engliſhman ſhudder, and can never be juſtified but by the parties, and their coadjutors, who having juſtly ſuffered by the liberty of the preſs, would, to private pique, ſacrifice national welfare.

The ſuppoſed offence of the plaintiffs was, as journeymen printers, having aſſiſted in printing a libel: the fact was, that they were abſolutely innocent. When we conſider the verdict abſtractedly, as giving a journeyman printer, for one day's confinement, more than he could earn in five years, we are apt to ſuppoſe it extravagant; but when we conſider it, in the general view, that a man of the loweſt rank is as much a free ſubject, and an object of legal protection, as a duke; and that the officer, who with impunity infringes our charter of liberties in the leaſt degree, will ſoon be hardy enough to be regardleſs of its contents: I ſay, when the caſe is conſidered in this general light, we can ſcarcely conceive a ſum adequate to the loſs of liberty! The crime was aggravated by the aggreſſors being ſervants of the crown, and the cauſe barefacedly ſupported by the miniſtry, and all the ſtate lawyers of eminence bawling in defence of tyranny and oppreſſion. Such the wretched ſituation

tion of a poor ſubject injured by a man in power! He muſt contend with the riches of the treaſury, and the law-craft of council, and he muſt ever fall a victim to the tyrant graſp of power, was not the independance of a JURY, an unfailing BARRIER.

I ſhall conclude this day's paper, with ſome general obſervations on ſtate proceedings in regard to libels. I apprehend, that they are wholly illegal, and unjuſtifiable. They have always treated libels and treaſonable papers in the ſame manner. There can be no doubt, but on legal ſuſpicion of treaſon the ſecretaries of ſtate, or any common magiſtrate, may order a man and his papers to be ſeized; and the contents of a bureau may ſubject the owner to the penalties of high treaſon; but a libel is no offence in itſelf, the crime conſiſts in the publication. It is a determined caſe (ſee 2 Brownlow 157. and 1 Lev. 139) that writing the moſt ſcandalous paper that can be conceived, and ſending it to the party abuſed, it is no libel, nor is it actionable; but if communicated to a third perſon, it would be both. The reaſon is obvious; a perſon might as well be puniſhed for thinking without ſpeaking, as for writing without publication. From whence I infer, that the papers in a man's own cuſtody cannot be libels; and that no law can juſtify taking or ſeizing any part of property, that is not in itſelf criminal: ſo that a ſubject ought to be left in the quiet poſſeſſion of his libels, even ſuppoſing them to be ſuch, as any other part of his property. If

there is a law that will juſtify taking innocent papers, becauſe, if publiſhed, they would be criminal; that law, wherever found, will juſtify cutting out a politician's tongue, becauſe, if left in, he may ſpeak treaſon. I ſeee no limitation to ſtate power, if ſuffered to exceed the bound of law or juſticc in the ſmalleſt inſtance. If to ſieze innocent papers, why not deeds? If deeds, why not the eſtate? If the property, why not the perſon? If the perſon, then life will become worthleſs; for there is no true Engliſhman breathing, when he has loſt liberty and property, but will think death a favour. I hope future SECRETARIES will enjoy the benefit of this VERDICT, and will join with Ovid,

Felix, quem faciunt, aliena pericula cautum,

B. X. P.

The CONTRAST. No. IV.

July, 20, 1 63.

While theſe do labour for their own preferment,
Behoves it us to labour for the realm.

SHAKESPEAR.

I WAS ſitting a few day ſince at a city coffe-houſe, and was led to meditate on the baſeneſs of human nature, by ſeeing one man as anxious in devouring the property of another, as the moſt voracious wild beaſt is its natural prey: no ties of friendſhip, relations, or country, can ſecure one from rapacious man! Engroſſed in thought, and making many compariſons, more to the honour of the

the real brute, than the acquired brutiſm of mankind, I was doubly alarmed: the ſenſe of ſmelling pronounced I had got into a kennel of foxes, while a ſlow hoarſe grumbling at my ear, made me conceive my next neighbour a bear: but on turning to the right I was relieved from all my foreſtial fears, and found that both the ſenſations proceeded from the vicinitude of a Scotchman, who by my ſolemnity, having conceived me to be an author, had ſat down by me to aſk my advice, and had grouled out many words before I had taken the alarm. On my paying him due attention he gave me the news-paper of the day, which contained the following very remarkable paragraph.

" It is ſaid that at the meeting of parliament petitions from the ſeveral boroughs in Scotland will be preſented to the houſe, requeſting redreſs from the many virulent papers lately publiſhed, tending to raiſe diſſentions and diſturbances between the North and South Britons, and to alienate the affections of the former, from the latter, to the danger of both."

After I had peruſed the above article he began a long panygeric on his countrymen, from lord Bute down to the Scotch perukemaker, in Knaves-acre, and Mackintoſh the cobler, in Thieving-lane. He enlarged on their profound learning, and inſiſted that a profeſſor of Aberdeen had more learning in his little finger than the whole body of profeſſors in Oxford and Cambridge. He did not

not forget to narrate the excellencies of the peace, the greatneſs of the cyder tax, the propriety of extending the exciſe, the raſcallity of the North Briton, and the fatal conſequence of the Engliſh diſobliging the Scotch; and then informed me he was deputed by twenty-ſeven Scotch boroughs to *advocate* their petition, and that the reaſon of his troubling me was to *crave my doing it into Engliſh.* The oddity of the requeſt, and a deſire to ſee the petition, made me comply, and in about two hours I unſcotchified it, to the intire ſatisfaction of my new-acquired friend; and the following is a true copy.

The petition of the loyal provoſt and magiſtrates of the antient and royal borough of ——— in ———ſhire,

Humbly ſhewing,

That emboldened by their unqueſtionable virtues, ſuch as an unſhaken zeal, time immemorial, for the cauſe of liberty, an unbiaſſed attachment to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, their well-known peaceable diſpoſition, their deteſtation to the tyrant family of the Stuarts, and their antipathy to rebellions, they claim ſatisfaction for the manifold inſults received from the factious Engliſh.

Be it remembered that at the earneſt requeſt, and out of compaſſion to the Engliſh, in the reign of queen Anne, they ſullied all their antient glory and dignity, by uniting with ſo paultry a ſet of traffickers, whoſe genealogy ſcarcely extended to the knowledge of their grandfathers.

That

That out of love, affection, and humanity, they have from time to time come into England, thereby greatly improving and civilizing the nation, enriching the people, by ſpending their vaſt fortunes among them, and eſtabliſhing their delicate cuſtoms.

That as a farther inſtance of eſteem, a Scot condeſcended to become the firſt lord of the treaſury, and it was intended, if the Engliſh had been peaceable, and behaved with decency, to have relieved them from the trouble of all civil and military offices that are profitable.

That among other ineſtimable bleſſings, the Engliſh are beholden to the Scotch for the moſt excellent peace; by which the Havannah, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Deſirade, St. Peter, Pondicherry, Goree, Belleiſle, and many other unprofitable and uſeleſs conqueſts that were become incumbrances, are aſſigned over to our good friends, the French and Spaniards.

But above all, the Engliſh are beholden to the incomparable Scotch miniſtry for that unexceptionable, and univerſally applauded, tax on cyder; for the extenſion of that darling of a free country, the exciſe; for the expulſion of thoſe ignorant unſucceſsful and unpopular miniſters, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, and for routing many of the prime nobility, whoſe whig principles made them dangerous to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

For theſe and many other reaſons equally cogent, which to receive would make a folio, they

they have a right to inſiſt, that the following penalties and prohibitions may be made by ſtatute.

It appearing to them that the perſon known by the name of John Wilkes, is the devil incarnate; they command that the ſaid devil ſhall be drowned, burnt, or otherwiſe effectually deſtroyed.

That the author of *Famine* ſhall be confined for the remainder of his life in the cave he has ſo well deſcribed.

That all places of profit may be given to the Scotch as a poor reward for their many ſervices, and that it may be death for an Engliſhman to murmur.

That it may be death to mention itch, penſions, brimſtone, oatmeal, œconomy, bare poſteriors, haggis, Agis king of Sparta, or any thing elſe that makes the Scotch ridiculous.

That all writers for the Scotch, like the Auditor and Briton, ſhall have full licence for ſcandal, defamation, and every ſpecies of falſhood, but to publiſh diſagreeable truth againſt them ſhall be baniſhment.

That the Scotch will ſhall be law; and the Engliſh law, for the future, the Scotch will.

On theſe conditions, we ſhall continue in friendſhip, but if not granted, *look to it! we'll do it! look to it.*

July 2, 1763. Vivant Butus & Rex.
B. X. P.

The

The CONTRAST. No. V.

July 27, 1763.

Quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius DEMENTAT.
Terence.

ONE of the earlieſt obſervations made by man, in the rude ſtate of nature, without the help of revealed religion, or ſcientific culture, was, that ſome all-wiſe, ſupreme being, had the direction of the univerſe, and that nothing was the product of mere chance. The next conſequential inference was, that the ſame directing power interfered in the affairs of men. That ſome of the moſt virtuous were protected; and others, by an unaccountable ſupernatural infatuation, induſtriouſly ſought their own ruin. Had theſe ideas been totally obliterated for more than ten centuries, the ſtrange and ſelf deſtructive conduct of the late Scottiſh miniſtry would have revived and eſtabliſhed the doctrine with redoubled force.

We ſaw a man at their head, whoſe talents were well adapted to make him amiable in private life: affluence of fortune always commands reſpect, and in riches he was rivalled by few; he was beloved by his prince; he was careſſed by the artiſts and literati; his judgment in each, when unbiaſſed by national prejudice, was equal to moſt; his inclination to promote, inferior to none. Thus happily ſituated, and ſure of being one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed private men in the kingdom, his curſed ſtars engaged him in politics, and by his conduct eclipſed all his private virtues.

Tho'

Tho' he was ſo infatuated as to aſſume the unconſtitutional, dangerous, and difficult office of prime miniſter, yet he was deſtitute of every requiſite for its proper execution. He was not even a native of the country he intended to rule. He had not the leaſt pretence to popularity. He never had ſet in the miniſterial ſchool, the houſe of commons. He was totally ignorant of national affairs; and to add to his misfortune, the wretched Scots, in whom he moſt confided, and by whom he was principally directed, were more ignorant and obnoxious than himſelf.

Let this fatal inſtance of pride, and thirſt of power, be handed down to the lateſt poſterity, to deter other happy men ſeeking their own miſery. But ſuch is the fallacious reaſoning of all mankind in regard to themſelves, that I fear this will be as uſeleſs to others, as the many hiſtorical facts, of the unhappy lives and fatal exits of favourites and obnoxious miniſters, have been to the late dictator.

Notwithſtanding a man was ſo infatuated as to launch thus far out of his element, yet one ſhould have ſuppoſed, that he would have taken care to have engaged the moſt able men in the kingdom to act in conjunction with him; but the exact contrary was the fact; merit was wholly diſregarded, and nothing attended to, but the taking off the leaders of parties. The ableſt financer in Europe was left at his country retirement, and his place ſupplied by a perſon about as fit for it, as a ploughman is of navigation. The whole compoſition was

of

of the ſame ſort. It was a medley of leading Tories, fiery Preſbyterians, and hungry Scotſmen, who from their different views of profit, and luſt of power, were ſilly enough to take on them the management of Britiſh affairs; and ſo arrogant, as to call this ſtate-oleo by the reſpectable title of a miniſtry.

When I ſaid the whole, I did not mean to include every individual; I only mean ten to one, or a very large majority. I am conſcious there is a man among them (perhaps there may be more) whoſe conduct and abilities had made him amiable in England, and deſervedly the greateſt favourite of Ireland. Why he joined with this medley, and by debaſing himſelf, gave them a ſanction, is a queſtion often aſked, and is a queſtion which may be reſolved in the words of Romeo's apothecary.

However unequal this compoſite miniſtry was to the proper management of the national affairs; tho' they had made an ineadequate peace; tho' by low arts and paultry intrigue they had ſupplanted the ableſt miniſtry England ever boaſted; tho' Engliſh merit was daily ſacrificed to Scots arrogance, and profuſion aſſumed the title of œconomy; yet the regard the Engliſh had to their moſt amiable ſovereign, made them with ſome degree of patience ſubmit to their manifold injuries, becauſe they were told, that he approved of this miniſterial hodge-podge.

The abatement of popular clamour encouraged theſe tyrannic upſtarts to lay aſide the maſk, and promote to the utmoſt of their power,

power, ſuch laws as would curtail Engliſh liberty: the moſt effectual method was to extend the exciſe, and the exciſe, therefore was their darling object; they with unparallelled ſecrecy and diſpatch procured a tax on cyder, the mention of which makes every friend of liberty tremble, whereby every man's private manſion, till now held ſacred, is expoſed to the inſpection of the loweſt and moſt abandoned of ſtate emiſſaries, the exciſe officers; and his property at the command of theſe reptiles, without the interpoſition of a JURY.

If we, like the antients, ſuppoſed that a particular deity preſided over the affairs of each nation, we might with the greateſt reaſon apprehend, that the Scots genius was either dead, falſe, or ſuperannuated; or like Paul's guardian angel, in mr. Hogarth's print, had got dead drunk, and gone faſt aſleep, when the Scots miniſtry reſolved on the extenſion of the exciſe, and put it into execution.

Thus a ſelf-deſtructive infatuation attended the meaſures of the Scots: they ſeem to have been promoted to be the more compleatly ruined: and when they conceived their own ſecurity, they met their own ſought deſtruction. Thus fell a junto by their own folly and oppreſſion, that had ſtood the oppoſition of the ableſt and beſt men in the kingdom: and the leader, after having been a few months in power, returned to his former private ſtation with an unparallelled odium and contempt, that,

that, had he not interfered in politics, he would have enjoyed to his death with univerſal eſteem and approbation. B. X. P.

The CONTRAST. No. VI.

Auguſt 3, 1763.

——————namque hoc tempore
Obſequium amicas, veritas odium paret.
TER.

FROM my little penetration I apprehend the tottering cauſe of the court writers to be more deſperate than ever, by the determination of the truly independant general meeting of the county of Surry, at Croydon: this is the moſt impartial ſenſe of a county that has been taken. They were ſummoned by a court ſheriff, and every miniſterial tool had at leaſt three weeks to hire a horſe, borrow boots, and redeem his coat; ſo that there being only two voices for an addreſs on the ſuperlatively glorious TEMPORARY peace, makes it too evident that thoſe who applaud it do it on venal terms; and that thoſe wretches are not freeholders.

I therefore moſt earneſtly adviſe the learned court-writers to diſguiſe, miſrepreſent, or contradict every fact; otherwiſe, the conſequence may be more fatal than at preſent appears; for it may diſcover to a certain GREAT MAN, that the addreſſes the public have for two months paſt been amuſed wi h, from all parts of the kingdom, were compoſed in Middleſex; that they were no more the ſenſe of thoſe county-freeholders whoſe names they

bore, than of thoſe wild Arabs who never heard of the peace; but were obtained by a placed or penſioned lord lieutenant's ſneaking into a parlour of his dependants, or coming *incog.* to a quarter ſeſſion dinner, and half a dozen ſigning for the whole county, depending on the improbability of a public contradiction.

As I moſt ſincerely recommend every art to be uſed to conceal theſe terrible facts, I will, with great freedom, lend my friendly aid in this good cauſe, and ſubmit my opinion of what I think moſt adviſeable. In the firſt place, follow the example of that ſteady, diſintereſted patriot, the AUDITOR, who never wrote for reward, or changed ſides out of pique; he, on a ſomewhat ſimilar occaſion, when lord Bute's health was refuſed at a country meeting, ingenuouſly turned it into ridicule, and told the public, that their actions were not to be regarded, becauſe they were country eſquires. I think this hint may be uſeful, and you may logically argue thus: the meeting at Croydon conſiſted of country eſquires; but country eſquires are fools, and always judge wrong; *ergo*, the PEACE is GOOD, becauſe the eſquires at Croydon ſaid it was BAD. In the next place, ſingle out two or three of the principal perſons preſent, and then read the life of mr. Jonathan Wild, or col. Chartries, the Scotch worthy; and apply every thing you find to the preſent parties. This has been done already with great ſucceſs, in the caſe of

mr.

mr. Wilkes. Though the ſlightineſs of his diſpoſition, and the gaiety of his youth, had drawn him into imprudence, that with all the addition of the malice and rancour of party-writers were ill adapted to a public news-paper (as moſt mens private affairs are) yet I can ſafely aſſert, that he was abſolutely innocent of ninety-nine in the hundred of the crimes laid to his charge; but true or falſe, they had their effect, and the groſſeſt infringement on the liberty of an Engliſhman, and member of parliament, has been, in a great meaſure, over-looked by the people, becauſe they were taught by court emiſſaries to believe him a bad man. Therefore let mr. Mawbey, the unplaced and truly independent member of the Borough of Southwark, be abuſed, and every crime in Hell's regiſter laid to his charge. Pray be totally regardleſs of facts, for they cramp an advocate for the preſent miniſtry: Tho' he has a very good perſon, you muſt ſwear he ſquints, that he is lame, the bridge of his noſe rotted away, all emaciated with vice, and ſuch a ſpectacle, that your wives miſcarry at the ſight of him, and your children go into fits; and to compleat the idea of his deformity, let mr. William Hogarth draw his pug-dog or his own viſage, and call it mr. Mawbey drawn from the life. It happens moſt unfortunately, that this gentleman lives in the greateſt happineſs with his wife; but as nothing prejudices mankind, or at leaſt womankind, ſo compleatly againſt a man, as the apprehenſion of his uſing his wife

ill, therefore, like good political writers, diſregard the fact, and aſſert he has left her forlorn and friendleſs. The reaſon of my inſiſting ſo much on this head of private abuſe is, to enable the people about the GREAT MAN to carry on the deceit, and confirm him in the groſſeſt of Scotch falſities, that the Scotch meaſures are only oppoſed by the abandoned. As the GREAT MAN is both good and ſenſible, he will naturally aſk, how it could happen in Surry, that out of 400, only two perſons approved of a meaſure, that many counties, even in Scotland, the very ſeat of rebellion, had highly applauded *within a twelvemonth?* To avoid this diſagreeable queſtion, ſay, that Surry is a moſt diſaffected county, (never mind facts) that the majority of the meeting were Popiſh prieſts, rank Tories, and rebel Scots, and of courſe enemies to the preſent Hanoverian Whig miniſtry. And leſt it ſhould be aſked, why the honeſt worthy friends of the miniſtry did not attend? I would ſay, that the BRUISERS, who eſcorted a *popular man* into the city, and to Windſor, were planted at all the avenues, and knocked down all the worthies, that from diſintereſted principles came to do juſtice to our *excellent* miniſtry, by applauding their moſt *glorious* peace.

I ſhall conclude, leaving the other neceſſary forgeries to the Scotch ſtate-writers own ingenuity; only begging them not to forget, that mr. Mawbey is a diſtiller, and that Southwark is in Surry; both which may be

uſeful

uſeful to facilitate ſcandal, and promote the grand arrogant Scotch aſſervation, that all in office are VIRTUOUS, and friends to their country; and all their opponents are the greateſt of villains, and known TRAYTORS.

B. X. P.

The CONTRAST. No. VII.

Auguſt 10, 1763.

Quod virtute effici debet, id tentalur pecunia.

CICERO.

TOleration is a religious liberty which I hope will remain unviolated; for it gives me leſs concern to ſee bigotry and folly infuſing themſelves through the whole kingdom by methodiſm, than it would to have a few good well-meaning chriſtians deprived of the liberty of worſhipping God in the manner they think moſt acceptable. But I ſhall ever ſee with the greateſt indignation, under the ſanction of a religious toleration, a venal, mercenary, time-ſerving JUNTO, formed into a civil CABAL, and, for certain premiums, becoming the tame, ſubmiſſive TOOLS of the baſeſt, and moſt corrupt adminiſtrations; while, without rewards, they oppoſe the moſt unexceptionable and virtuous meaſures.

Though low-craft has often ſtigmatized unqueſtionable truths with being libels, I am confident, common ſenſe will not pronounce truth, prejudice. I will therefore narrate the NOBLE and DISINTERESTED actions of the diſſenters, and leave mankind to deſcant on their various VIRTUES.

In the reign of that truly pious and virtuous, though fatally obſtinate, or, in the phraſe of the preſent times, that STEADY Scotch-Engliſh monarch, Charles the firſt, who, by his zeal for his prerogative, and attachment to a bad, tyrannical, and unpopular miniſtry, obliged the beſt men in the kingdom to be his opponents: the diſſenters availed themſelves of the confuſion of the times, and, by every wicked method that could be purſued, entirely ſubverted the conſtitution in church and ſtate: making a mockery of the law, by a ſet of fanatics aſſuming ſupreme authority by their own ſpontaneous creation. They were hardy enough to give a ſanction to their murderous order, by each traytor's ſigning the warrant: and to compleat their wicked deeds, imbrued their hands in the blood of their ſovereign, on a public ſcaffold.

The uſurper Cromwell's ſhort reign is a ſufficient inſtance of preſbyterian tyranny in church and ſtate; and the unparallelled rejoicings that extended through the whole kingdom, at the return of monarchy in the profligate perſon of Charles the ſecond, is a clear proof that, by fatal experience, the people found the tyranny of preſbyterianiſm, of all evils, the moſt intolerable.

When that popiſh bigot, James the ſecond, aſcended the throne, the diſſenters were patronized, in order, in the general train, to mix with the catholics: ſuperficial as the diſgrace was, the temporizing intereſted preſbyterians choſe to be blind, and once more

from

from ſelfiſh motives, made the unnatural compact for the ſubverſion of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; and, for the ſake of profit, became the tools of popery.

However zealous the diſſenters are at preſent in celebrating the memory of king William, by eating and drinking in the glorious cauſe; yet in 88, the diſſenters ſo tempered their zeal, that they very cooly ſat ſtill, to ſee who ſucceeded, before they exerted themſelves. His highneſs remained ſome time at Exeter without any perſon coming to his aſſiſtance; and then, among thoſe who had ſpirit and patriotiſm enough to riſque their lives and fortunes in the cauſe of God and their country, few or none were diſſenters.

In the Tory adminiſtration of queen Anne, the diſſenters (I ſpeak it to their honour, for I will not conceal their little virtue) were nobly zealous in oppoſition to thoſe wicked Tory doctrines of the preſent times, of *paſſive obedience*, and *non-reſiſtance*, and many other baſe and ſiniſter arts made uſe of by the Tories, to exclude the houſe of Hanover, and re-eſtabliſh the Stuarts, by bringing in the Pretender. Every impartial man muſt allow, that we are beholden to the duke of Newcaſtle, the Whigs and Diſſenters, for our civil and religious liberty. But the Preſbyterians preſent junction with the Scotch Tory miniſter, has ſullied all their honour as a body, and ſtrongly marked that noble oppoſition to proceed from a pique. Queen Ann's miniſtry, with a ſincerity that muſt be univerſally

verſally allowed to be laudable, ſcorned, like the preſent Tories, to careſs the people they intended to deſtroy; and inſtead of deluding them with PRESENTS out of the TREASURY, made an act to prohibit any Diſſenter from teaching ſchool, which was apparently deſigned to annihilate the body; and from this proceeded their ſteady, but ſelfiſh oppoſition.

Since this time, the conduct of the Diſſenters has been one uniform venal proceeding; regardleſs of every principle of honour, or national welfare, they have indiſcriminately ſupported every miniſter, by whom they were paid. When the arch-corruptor became prime miniſter, and openly purchaſed the votes of the repreſentatives and conſtituents, ſir Robert Walpole and the Diſſenters were cloſely united in the bonds of corruption and ſelf intereſt. When ſir Robert fell, and the opponents to his evil meaſures, for peerages and penſions ſold their country and themſelves, and were metamorphoſed from the moſt exalted patriotic characters, to the moſt inſignificant and contemptible of faithleſs ſtate miſcreants; I ſay, when the grand corruptor fell, and the management of the national affairs was aſſumed by the dregs of his miniſtry, the Diſſenters, like true ſtate leeches, ſtuck to preferment.

Had the Diſſenters acted one ſteady part, had they always been attached to the cauſe of liberty, the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, and the Whig intereſt, their zeal in ſupport of the Gemini would have been laudable; we

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ſhould have ſuppoſed it a grateful return for the many ſervices his grace had done to the cauſe of liberty, in the latter part of queen Ann's reign. But when we ſee their connections with the Pelhams were only becauſe they were powerful; when we ſee the good old duke, that real friend of the Whigs, and enemy of Toryiſm, forſaken, abuſed, and treated with contempt by his former Preſbyterian attendants and flatterers; when we ſee them follow power, and idolize an upſtart untried Tory Scot; we muſt look on them as the moſt mercenary, venal TOOLS of adminiſtration, that ever EXISTED. Whigs and Pelhamites for 1500l. Tories and Butites for 2000l. and for 500 more liſting under the DEVIL or FOX.

This, O ye Diſſenters! is a mirror held to you by your friend, if one who ſhows you your deformities can be allowed to be ſuch: don't endeavour to hide truth under falſehood, but '*take ſhame to yourſelves*,' and, '*go ſin no more*;' be no longer the undiſtinguiſhed ſlaves of power for pecuniary rewards, but like M. Curius Dentatus, refuſe the bribes offered by the betrayers of your country. Be contented with your toleration, which may you enjoy *as long as the ſun and moon endures*; but never wiſh to eſtabliſh Preſbyterianiſm inſtead of Epiſcopacy; for it cannot be done but by wading up to your chins in blood, and committing crimes like thoſe of your anceſtors, the adherents of that *traytor* and *tyrant*, the hypocritical CROMWELL.

To

To convince my readers that these ideas of Dissenting venality are not founded on the prejudices of yesterday, I shall conclude to-day's paper with a quotation from that celebrated political paper, the Examiner, No. 21. published December 1710.

'I think it is generally allowed by enemies 'and friends, that the bold and brave de- 'fences made before the revolution, against 'those many invasions of our rights, proceed- 'ed principally from the clergy; who are 'likewise known, to have rejected all advan- 'ces made to them to close with the measures at 'that time concerting; while the Dissenters, 'to gratify their ambition and revenge, fell 'into the basest compliances of the court, ap- 'proved of all proceedings by numerous and 'FULSOME ADDRESSES, and took employ- 'ments and commissions by virtue of the dis- 'pensing power, against the direct laws of 'the land. All this is so true, that if the 'Pretender comes in, they will next to those 'of his own religion, have the fairest claim 'and pretensions to his favour, from their 'merit and eminent services to his supposed 'father; who without such encouragement, 'would probably never have been so misled 'to go the lengths he did.'

B. X. P.

The CONTRAST. No. VIII.

August 17, 1763.

Parum claris lucem dare coget. HOR.

THERE is a general policy pursued by all mankind in their various situations, which is

is to guard againſt their natural RIVALS. Self-intereſt is ſo prevalent in moſt men's actions, that the profeſſions of friendſhip, when inconſiſtent with their apparent, and avowed purſuits, are always to be ſuſpected. Nations, and private perſons, ſtudy their own intereſt, and publicly profeſs an entire diſregard of it. Pretenſions to virtue are ſo very general, that even the thief at the gallows and the prime miniſter, are bare-faced enough to claim it: they each repreſent their proſecutors, or opponents, as the moſt abandoned of wretches, and tell you, that their ſuperior virtue, has been their deſtruction. Collective bodies act on the ſame principle as individuals; and the ——— ——— of a nation endeavour to delude their rivals, as much as the former ſtudies to deceive his land-lord. From theſe general principles, I infer, that whenever two nations become dangerous to each other, they ought to keep double guard, and take it for granted, that the ſalute, like Judas's, is to betray. England and France are at preſent in this ſituation, as much as Rome and Carthage were formerly. France has long ſince avowed her deſign of univerſal monarchy, and England's naval ſtrength is, perhaps, the only curb to her power; ſo that England may be called the guardian of the world, againſt the enterpriſes of France. The moſt ſolemn treaties between nations ought no more to be regarded than the promiſes of a captive robber; each, when in danger, will engage any thing that appears beneficial to themſelves, and as

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ſoon as the danger is over, diſregard them wholly; the robber will deſtroy the perſon that gave him life, and liberty; and the French, attempt the ruin of thoſe that returned them Martinico, Guadaloupe, &c. Therefore, though I do not carry my concluſion ſo far as Cato with Carthage, that, *delenda eſt Gallia*; yet, I will lay down this as a maxim, that the French, from their known infidelity, ought NEVER TO BE TRUSTED. I ſhall now proceed to the narration of a fact, which is one of the glorious inſtances, of the *ability and integrity*, of the moſt faithful, diſcerning, ADEQUATE Scotch miniſtry.

A native of France, whoſe family and friends were, and are faithful ſubjects to the French king, and reſide at this time in the French dominions, came into England ſometime ſince, in the capacity of a tutor. The dictator's brother, being on his departure to his ambaſſy; and this gentleman being recommended to him, for a man of abilities, and compleat knowledge in the French language, he was engaged in the ambaſſador's ſervice, as an under-ſecretary. I believe a Frenchman's having the moſt diſtant connection with ſtate affairs, will appear extremely wrong to every true Engliſhman; yet, to his Scotch maſter, it appeared otherwiſe, who procured him a reward for his ſervices, not out of his own pocket, but a penſion of 200l. a year, to be paid to his private ſervant, by the public: for in this, Scotch œconomy differs from Engliſh generoſity! All this, thought

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it appears to me very wrong, is not what I have to complain of: it is, that this NATIVE OF FRANCE, this man, whoſe friends are all *natives and reſidents* in FRANCE, whoſe *natural affections*, one may conclude, are for FRANCE, and who of courſe, is ready *to betray England*, or at leaſt, to *neglect her intereſt*; I ſay, this true FRENCHMAN is, at this time, appointed AN ENGLISH RESIDENT, at a court of the greateſt *importance*, and is *ſole manager* of Engliſh affairs. The affair requires no comment, ſo I ſhall conclude. B. X. P.

The CONTRAST. No. IX.

Auguſt 24, 1763.

Nil orituram aliàs, nil ortum tale fatentes.
HOR.

A Dialogue between JOHN TROT, Eſq; *and* WILLIAM BRUSH, *the Humouriſt and Houſe-Painter.*

Trot. I BEG pardon for intruſion; but I have laid out a ſhilling on a print of a bear and a dog, and a pot of porter, and ragged ruffles, and a lying ſtaff, and a band, and a begging-box, and a pallet, and many other things, which make ſo ſtrange a compoſition that I am at a loſs to underſtand the meaning.

Bruſh. The bear is a parſon ——

Tr. The bear a parſon! I have found many parſons that have been bears, but never heard of a bear that was a parſon.

Br. You country gentlemen are rather dull; the bear is a parſon, or was a parſon, and I am ſure the parſon is a bear: for he has ſucked all the honey of my former reputation, and has made me an aſs: he has ſo clawed me that I ſhall be ſore as long as I live. Live, did I ſay! I han't lived ſince: nor ever ſhall again.

Tr. Why, this account of a parſon is to me a new idea, as indeed is your parſon bruin. You han't made him hands, but paws with talons. The country parſons I have met with have no paws, nor talons.

Br. O, ſir! this is a very different thing to a country parſon; I had rather had a ſcratching from every country parſon in England, Wales, and the town of Berwick on Tweed, than one claw from this half parſon, or no parſon, or I know not what ſort of a parſon!

Tr. How came this bear, as you call him, to attack you? What, did you ſet this old ſecond-hand pug-dog of your's at his heels, or did he water in his ſhoes, as I ſee he can't hold his water.

Br. No, ſir; I'll tell you; he was the aggreſſor. I am, ſir, you know, and all the world knows, the greateſt painter that ever exiſted in ——————

Tr. What greater than Raphael!

Br. Raphael! mine a ——! that univerſal admiration of his works is an inſtance of the folly of mankind. Did you ever ſee his Transfiguration? Did you mind his mountain?

mountain? Why, a London ſcavenger wou'd put the whole mountain in his cart at once, and ſhoot it into a dung boat. Did you ever ſee my Paul before Felix? or my Sigiſmunda? or my pictures at Briſtol? there is art in perfection, there is colouring, there expreſſion, drawing, dignity; in ſhort, every thing! all the beauties of the antients united with the excellencies of the moderns.

Tr. Pray, ſir, who did you ſay painted theſe wonderful pictures?

Br. Who, ſir? I, ſir! I am he that has culled the merit of the Italian, Dutch, and Flemiſh ſchools; and, with my own improvements, bring them forth with double luſtre. I have found ſome difficulty to perſuade the world of theſe moſt undoubted facts; for they rather fancy me a humouriſt, than a ſerious, hiſtorical painter: but I deſpiſe fun: I have always painted trajedy. All mankind are fools: they ſuppoſed my Marriage A-la-mode, a comedy, when in reality it was a deeper trajedy than Macbeth: for I deſtroyed all the principal characters, in order to make it woeful. Then, as a politician, I am a moſt extraordinary one; did you ever ſee my Times.

Tr. I have; and was ſorry to ſee the greateſt man in his way employ his moſt excellent talents in blaſting the reputation of the SAVIOUR of his country. Blaſting, did I ſay! No: the conqueſts and infinite benefits received from this great man, that you have pretended to burleſque in your Times,

are ſuch, that no time can eraſe the name of Pitt from the memories of the grateful Engliſh.

Br. Come, ſir, don't be furious, I am ſtate houſe-painter, and I was ordered to paint the great man out of vogue; as much as the Preſbyterians and others were ordered to addreſs him into diſgrace. I have ſix hundred a year for being pliant; and for half the money I would have abuſed all the twelve Apoſtles.

Tr. I beg we may return from this political digreſſion: I called for an explanation of your print, and if you'll favour me I ſhall be much obliged to you.

Br. The bear, ſir, is an emblem of that great wit, and ſatyriſt, Charles Churchill.

Tr. A bear an emblem of wit! why, I always thought a bear the emblem of ſtupidity.

Br. I don't care what it was, I tell you that a bear at preſent is a wit; that the pot of porter is to ſhew the brightneſs of his parts; the club, how he knocked me down; the dog watering ſhews, that the very title page puts us in a fright; and all the other things ſignify as much as they did when they were added to the print of myſelf.

Tr. Well, ſir, I am ſorry to tell you, that I think you are ſuperannuated; that you are as remarkably dull at this time, as you were once clever: I therefore adviſe you, never more to venture any new production into the world, leſt the folly of the preſent ſhould eclipſe the excellency of the former; and the

next age ſhould divide the works of the great humouriſt into two claſſes; the one, the moſt excellent that was ever produced, and the other, the moſt contemptible.

B. X. P.

The CONTRAST. No. X.

Sept. 1, 1763.

There is no peace, ſaith my God, to the wicked.
Iſaiah. ch. lvii. ver. 1.

THE moſt glorious æra of Engliſh hiſtory, will be the firſt year of the reign of George the third; we were engaged in a war, that did the greateſt honour to the conductors of it, by an amazing and unparallelled ſeries of ſucceſſes, that did equal honour to the Engliſh as a body, by the great alacrity with which they contributed to the reduction of their implacable enemy. This JUST and moſt NECESSARY war was ſo remarkably favoured by Providence, that our enemies were reduced to accept of a peace on our own terms; or to remain in a ſtate of impotency, deprived of their moſt valuable poſſeſſions, which the united force of all Europe could not wreſt out of our hands. It was at this time that the SCOT ſeized the helm, and vainly conceived by little arts to rule this intelligent ſtate. Such an upſtart could not be abſurd enough to conceive himſelf equal to the management of the war, he therefore declared for peace; all his miſcreants pretended our glorious war would be our deſtruction, and *kindly endeavoured to*

ſave us by an ignominious PEACE; but as the workers of iniquity can ſeldom or never keep their own counſel, it ſoon became apparent, that their zeal for peace was upon the moſt paultry principle of ſelf-intereſt, in oppoſition to national welfare. They ſaw the Scotch dictator unequal both to the conducting the war, and to the raiſing money. A peace they vainly conceived would make them eaſy in both reſpects. Peace was therefore ſollicited, and at laſt obtained. As it was too apparent to our enemies, as well as ourſelves, that theſe Scots would have a peace at all events, the conquered ſoon talked in the ſtile of conquerors, and dictated terms to the miſtreſs of the world; and the Scots baſely purchaſed a peace, with thoſe glorious acquiſitions that had been obtained in the illuſtrious adminiſtration of the *diſcarded* PITT.

Has this peace anſwered the end intended by the dictator, and his mercenary, inadequate, ruling ——— ? No; they find the fatal truth of my motto, *that there is no* PEACE *to the* WICKED. I remember in that happy period, when his preſent majeſty aſcended the throne, among the many *unſollicited* addreſſes, the artiſts of Great Britain, out of ſincere regard to their moſt amiable ſovereign, expreſſed their zeal in an addreſs. It was wrote by an author who does hackney work; I have forgot his name, but I believe I can deſcribe him; he wrote a party dictionary, in which

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all the Whigs were repreſented as raſcals,* and the Tories men of honour and honeſty; for which the TORY ŒCONOMISTS have ſince given him a penſion of 300l. a year: He is a man of remarkable *integrity*, and roars out on all occaſions in the cauſe of *virtue*; and as example is allowed to be more uſeful than precept, it is reported that he, as an inſtance of his *honeſty*, and contempt of money, took a guinea ſubſcription for an edition of Shakeſpeare, about ten years ago: the book has not appeared as yet, but as the PENSIONER always expreſſes a great regard for poor authors, and as his pocketing the money, without giving the book, may diſcourage ſubſcriptions, it is thought he will publiſh Shakeſpeare the beginning of the next century. This grand maſs of virtue, gentility, impartiality, complacency, ſelf-diffidence, modeſty, ſociability, eaſe and elegance, who ſees ſo remarkably, and ſo juſtly applauds all mens talents but his OWN, in the addreſs he wrote for the artiſts, had this remarkable CONUNDRUM, "that tho' we were engaged in the moſt bloody war England ever ſaw, yet we were in profound peace." To follow this great writer's example and grace, the Contraſt, with a conundrum, will aſſert, that in the preſent *profound peace*, we are in a *terrible ſtate of warfare*.

The expreſſing a diſlike to bad men, and wicked meaſures, is not only the birth-right of an Engliſhman, but is aſſumed by the very negro

* In this dictionary 'tis ſaid, Whiggiſm and Atheiſm are ſynonymous terms.

negro ſlaves; the only difference is, the freeman expoſtulates with his ſuperiors, tells them of his injuries, and aſks for redreſs; the ſlave never complains, but waits an opportunity to be amply revenged, and is never ſatisfied till he has deſtroyed his tyrant taſk-maſter. The dictator, and his tory tools, have been ſo daring as to expreſs their diſapprobation of this divine attribute of liberty; and the inculcating implicit faith in their meaſures, has been the darling ſubject of the Auditor, Briton, Plain Dealer, and other mercenaries: but theſe revived Tory-doctrines are too late; the unplaced and unpenſioned will exclaim; and though money has been given by the œconomiſt, with the utmoſt profuſion, yet ſome remain virtuous; nor will the treaſury purchaſe every opponent; the ſenſe of the better ſort of people is known by their writings; the ſenſe of the common people, by the gallows made to hang the Court Biſhop, by the broken head of the Welch turn-coat patriot; and by the Dictator being perpetually burnt in effigy. Theſe are ſome of the glorious effects of the *Scots miniſtry's virtuous deeds*, and of their *excellent peace*; theſe the preſages to confuſion, that is juſtly dreaded by all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

Theſe are not the only unfortunate circumſtances that mark theſe diſmal times. We ſee the political barometer, the public funds, daily falling, and in the profound Scots peace, at a much lower price than at the beginning of an Engliſh war. This characterizes not only

only the diffidence of the Engliſh, but the utter contempt of all foreigners, of the preſent Scots hodge-podge, commonly called the Engliſh miniſtry. We ſee in this *profound* Scots peace, the French augmenting their navy, with a greater zeal and diſpatch than during the war. We ſee an Indian war in America unavoidable: our public papers inform us of commotions in Ireland, which are juſtly to be dreaded: and all theſe dreadful conſequences proceed from the Scots aſſuming the reigns of government, in a free country, and engroſſing all the places of profit to themſelves. Though all the nation are juſtly incenſed at their conduct, yet they perſiſt in ruling. How long the Lord will afflict the Engliſh nation with this plague of locuſts, I cannot determine; but as they, like other vermin, only ſtay till they have devoured every thing in the country, the moſt miſerable ſtate of this once happy nation prognoſticates their ſpeedy flight, and that they will ſoon find, that although they have obtained, by every wicked art, a nominal peace, in order to maintain themſelves in excluſive power, yet to their ſorrow they will find, that *there is no peace to the wicked.*

B. X. P.

The

The CONTRAST. No. XI.

September 8, 1763.

—— can turn and turn, and yet go on,
And turn again ———.

SHAKESPEAR.

Tempora mutantur, et nos mutantur in illis——

AS the auther of the CONTRAST has ſeldom or never obſerved any good effects to proceed from political writers entering into debates in juſtification of their own works, he, from the firſt, reſolved to be exceedingly careful to aſcertain the truth of what he ſubmitted to the impartial and diſcerning public, and then to leave them to determine the merits between him and his adverſaries, without wantonly interfering himſelf on every trifling occaſion. If this had not been his primary reſolution, although the preſent ſtate writers (whoſe zeal being for thoſe that have the purſe, which never fails to engage them in favour of the miniſter) are ſo contemptible a ſet of ſcribblers, that it muſt degrade a writer in the opinion of all mankind who condeſcends to anſwer their mercenary ſtuff, the CONTRAST's numerous and furious opponents had not remained unanſwered.

Notwithſtanding theſe are the CONTRAST general principles, yet where he thinks neceſſary to be more explicit, for the better ſatisfaction of his readers, he will always look on himſelf in duty bound ſo to be; and when any of his papers, on important ſubjects, are

are anſwered by people of underſtanding and ability, he will either ſupport his doctrines, or confeſs his errors. He therefore intends to-day to ſupport his opinion of thoſe tame, compliant, ſtate-tools, the Diſſenters, in anſwer to the conſiderations of one mr. X. on the CONTRAST, No. 7.

The firſt obſervation of mr. X's is a full confeſſion of what is aſſerted. The CONTRAST ſays, 'that the Diſſenters, in the 'reign of Charles the firſt, availed themſelves of the confuſion of the times; and, 'by every wicked method that could be purſued, entirely ſubverted the conſtitution in 'church and ſtate.' Mr. X. owns, that the Engliſh Preſbyterians, 'and all the Scots, 'aimed at the eſtabliſhment of Preſbytery; 'being as firmly perſuaded of the divine right 'of their model of church government, as 'the members of the church of England 'could be of their's.' As to the merits of the two religions, I ſhall not debate that point with mr. X; but I have ſo good an opinion of all truly religious people, that I am certain they ſuppoſe their own to be the beſt. But the private opinion of a few has nothing to do with the ſtate; and therefore the Preſbyterians, who, contrary to law, endeavoured to ſubvert the church, were as much traytors to their country, as thoſe who made a mock court of juſtice to perpetrate the horrid murder of their king. If we were to allow this argument, I fear it would go too far, for it would be a juſtification of James the ſecond,

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in all his tyrannical and unconſtitutional proceedings in favour of popery, for which he was dethroned; becauſe he 'was as firmly 'perſuaded of the divine right of his model 'of church government,' as the Preſbyterians ever could be of their's. The panegyric on the preſent Diſſenters with which he concludes this paragraph, I fear is not true, but I ſincerely wiſh that one aſſertion may be found ſo, which is, that 'the fatal miſtakes 'of former times has been the means of 'teaching them better notions, more wiſdom 'and moderation.'

In the next paragraph he ſays, that the Contraſt "has baſely confounded the Diſſenters in general with a wretched ſet of Enthuſiaſts and Republicans." To which I anſwer, that it is not fact; for mr. X has confounded the real patriots of the eſtabliſhed religion with the diſſenting faction. I believe it is univerſally allowed, that the firſt legal oppoſition to the wicked miniſtry, and the oppreſſive meaſures of Charles the firſt, was highly commendable. No Engliſhman can read of his infringement of the privileges of parliament, and freedom of their debates, but with the utmoſt horror: nor of the ſhip-money, without deteſtation; nor of his infamous favourite that found protection, and at laſt occaſioned the poor king's ruin, without contempt of him as a man, or compaſſion for his little diſcernment, in preferring a falſe courtier to the honeſt affections of his faithful ſubjects. It was by an oppoſition to theſe meaſures,

measures, so repugnant to our birthright and charter of liberties, that the immortal Hampden, and many other worthy patriots, endeared themselves to every free born Englishman: but it is well known, that these worthies never designed war, and that all the bloody civil contest was owing to the Dissenters, who availed themselves of the confusion of the times, and by every wicked art pulled down high church tyranny to establish a Presbyterian tyranny, ten times more destructive than the former. As to their disapproving of the murder of the truly pious king, I will refer to the warrant for his execution, and you will see, that they were all Dissenters who signed the traiterous order. Mr. X. has not entered into particulars sufficient for our finding out who were those worthy Dissenters who beheld the trajedy with such horror, and so ardently desired to prevent it. I should be glad to know whether that worthy Dissenter, mr. Oliver Cromwell, was one of the Presbyterian saints that looked on with such horror at his own inhumanity? No: mr. X's assertions are contrary to known facts, and none but such a blind zealot in the dissenting cause could have asserted such gross falsities; he must know, that the arch-traitor, Cromwell, was the idol of those dissenting cut-throats; that he was always represented as a standard of piety, and that the Dissenters at this day adore Cromwell, and applaud his wicked acts.

As to the Contraſt's omitting the reign of Charles the ſecond, it was, becauſe the Diſſenters conduct, during that time, does not appear quite ſo clear for him to determine on their merit or demerit. There were in this reign more plots, either real or pretended, than in almoſt all the other reigns put togerher. The court accuſed the Diſſenters and Catholics of being the authors of the major part of them; with what juſtice I can't determine.

What he allows of their conduct, in the reign of the Pope's agent, James the ſecond, is quite as much as the Contraſt could wiſh, to ſupport his aſſertions of their baſe, traiterous, and mercenary conduct. He allows, 'that the univerſal toleration was a maſk, 'under which James intended to introduce 'Popery. That a few of the Diſſenters were 'taken in the ſnare.' This is very true, they were, and ever have been taken in lucrative ſnares: bait your trap with a good place or penſion, and they are unfortunately taken in the ſnare, whether the trap-bait is a Whig or Tory, a tyrant, contemptible Scot, or Papiſt, Atheiſt or Mahometan. Then the farther to illuſtrate the Diſſenters zeal for their country, he tells you, that 'of thoſe who were put 'into offices of truſt by the diſpenſing power, 'the moſt conſiderable choſe to qualify accor-'ding to law, rather than countenance ſuch 'an illegal and unconſtitutional ſtretch of the 'prerogative.' This ſentence is a greater reflection on the Diſſenters, than any contained

tained in the Contract. It firſt ſhows them to be the moſt abandoned traitors to their country, to accept of places under a diſpenſing power, which was not only inconſiſtent with the law, but a ſtretch of prerogative that entirely ſubverted our happy conſtitution. Their qualifying according to the law, ſhows that they had as little regard for God as their country; and that both were ſacrificed to the thirſt of power and profit. It is a fundamental principle with the Diſſenters, not to receive the ſacrament, as a qualification for office. It is this that mr. X. ſays, 'has excluded them 'from the ſervice of their country;' and yet in that reign, their conſciences were ſo eaſy and compliable, that they qualified according to law. To ſum up their virtues according to this account, it ſtands thus: they held it offenſive to the Supreme Being, to receive the ſacrament for a place; ſo they are excluded by the teſt. By the diſpenſing power their conſciences are eaſed, ſo they come into office: but then the good creatures find out, that this is 'countenancing an illegal and un-'conſtitutional ſtretch of the prerogative.' What do theſe pious ſouls do then? Do they reſign? No. They can't qualify, becauſe that is contrary to their tenets, and an offence to God! Yes; but theſe ſanctified patriots have ſo great a regard for the conſtitution, that they diſregard the laws of God, and qualify: and then, to conclude, after all this complacency, king James ſays, 'he can't 'gain them.' A moſt wonderful conſiſtent account!

account! But here I muſt play the commentator; for king James could not ſay, 'he 'could not gain them,' becauſe he had them; but he ſaid, 'he could not keep them.'

As to his other obſervations and animadverſions, they are in general too trifling to require an anſwer, and therefore I ſhall paſs over them in ſilence. Yet I cannot conclude without remarking, that mr. X. has not ſaid one word in juſtification of the paultry actions of the preſent diſſenting junto, who, with ſuch unjuſtifiable zeal, joined the contemptible Tory Scot, whoſe principles and actions were diametrically oppoſite to what they pretend are theirs; who were purchaſed to ſneak to court with an addreſs on an inadequate, temporary peace: and who have ſold all their old friends and Whig connections for 2000 l. but I hope the happy period is now near at hand, when theſe temporizing Diſſenters muſt "turn again," and that our beſt of ſovereigns will ſoon have a good and able miniſtry, and that he will be as happy in his people as they are in him; which cannot fail of being the caſe, when the dictator and his myrmidons are retired, and Engliſhmen, of tried integrity and abilities, put in their room; which is the ardent prayer of the whole nation, except the hungery Scotch, and ſome deſperate Engliſh, whoſe poverty makes them always ſubſervient tools to the moſt abandoned miniſters.

B. X. P.

The

The CONTRAST. No. XII.

Sept. 14, 1763.

Omnium ſocietatum nulla eſt gravior, nulla carior, quam ea quæ cum republica eſt unicuique noſtrum: —Sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa eſt: pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, ſi ei ſit profuturus?

CIC.

IN the ſecond number of the Contraſt I conſidered the nature of the Scotch union, and ſhewed that it ought never to be underſtood that theſe kingdoms were compleatly united, ſo long as the Scotch retained their own laws, religion, and cuſtoms; moſt of which are ſo very inconſiſtent with ours, that the veſting power in this free country, in the hands of a tyrant Scot, muſt always be a moſt alarming circumſtance, and never can fail to incenſe the whole Engliſh nation. I intend in this day's paper to purſue the ſubject, and conſider national prejudices in a more general light.

It cannot be doubted but it was neceſſary for the benefit of mankind, to divide the government of the world into parts; and it is ſelf-evident, that the only method of keeping them ſeperate, was implanting in them an attachment for their own nation, and a deteſtation for others. From whence it appears, that national prejudices and attachments are, by the interpoſition of divine Providence, inter-woven in the conſtitution of the univerſe.

This doctrine is ſupported by holy writ; for you will find that moſt of the laws of the Jews were deſigned to keep them a ſeperate nation, by preventing their union with all others. The different languages allotted to every kingdom has no other uſe than to keep them a ſeperate people, and does it more effectually than any barrier. The laws and cuſtoms of all nations, and of all ages, are calculated for the end of ſeperation. Every ſtate gives the greateſt rewards to warriors; that is, to thoſe who have done the greateſt miſchief to other countries; committed many thouſand *glorious murders*; burnt, without relenting, the habitations of all the poor, innocent ſubjects; deſtroyed their ſuſtenance; and dragged thoſe that fell into their hands in chains, to add to the horrors of a triumph. The firſt legal principle in every kingdom, is to be true and faithful to the ſtate: and it is the cuſtom of every country to bind their ſubjects to a faithful allegiance, by the moſt ſolemn oaths. The higheſt crime in every country, is ſerving the national enemies; and even in England, whoſe laws are certainly the moſt merciful, dr. Henſey was condemned to the death of a traitor, for correſponding with the French, during the late war; though all he informed them might have been found in the Court Regiſter, or the public news-papers; and for this crime, apparently ſo trifling, he was, with univerſal approbation, condemned to a ſeverer puniſhment than if he had murdered his parents and all his kindred. So that

the grand doctrine of nations is truly mercenary: it is to ſerve themſelves even at the utter deſtruction of their neighbours. Theſe principles, I believe, will be found conſiſtent with all governments; and theſe principles will be found ſo rivited in the minds of all mankind, that they are apparently inſtinct, and are never to be eradicated.

Now I ſhall apply theſe general ideas to the Engliſh and Scotch. All the world knows, that between theſe two nations, from the earlieſt accounts, there was the greateſt antipathy, and moſt implacable hatred. The wars that this kingdom has been engaged in with the Scots, exceed thoſe of every other nation in the whole world put together: the Scotch were always in ſtrict alliance with France, and France has always been the natural enemy of England. This was the ſituation of affairs, till the formal, puſillanimous, pacific Scot, James the firſt, aſcended the Engliſh throne; and then thoſe mercenary Scots, who formerly came into England in the character of warriors for the ſake of plunder, thought it more for their private advantage, to attend this cauſuiſtical monarch in the character of friends; under which maſk, the innumerable train of beggars and banditti have had it in their power to do more real injury to this kingdom, than ten times their force could have accompliſhed in the more noble profeſſion of arms.

The

The preſent Scotch ſcribblers having been ſo regardleſs of hiſtorical facts as to aſſert, in anſwer to my paper, No. II. that the crowns of the two kingeoms were united James the firſt: I appeal to every hiſtory of England and Scotland, and you will find that they remained, in every reſpect, as eſſentially ſeperate, as England and Hanover are at this day, or as England and Holland were in the reign of king William the third: there is no more pretence to ſay the crowns, or kingdoms, were united by the ſame perſon being king of each, than there is to ſay, that the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury and the chancellorſhip were united, by the ſame perſon, in former times, enjoying both offices, for they always acted as ſeperately, as if different perſons: and ſo every kingly act in each kingdom, till the real union, in the reign of queen Anne, was as abſolutely independent of each other, as if king James the firſt of England and king James the ſixth of Scotland had been two men. It was ſo far from being underſtood by the Scotch, that the kingdoms were united at that time, that when it was propoſed, many years before it took place, the great Scotch lawyer, ſir John Neſbitt, of Dirleton, the then lord advocate, and a privy counſellor, gave it as his opinion, that the propoſing of it was high treaſon, becauſe it was a ſubverſion of the parliament; any alteration in which was, by the Scotch law, high treaſon; and on this ſir John founded his opinion, and it had ſuch an effect on the great people

people of Scotland, that it retarded the ſcheme for many years: and it is well known, that it was at laſt obtained by bribing a few of the ruling Scots; and ſo far from its being the voice of the people, they were extremely averſe to it, and treated the promoters of it as traitors to their country. The little regard theſe new united Scots had for their fellow-ſubjects, by act of parliament, was inſtanced by their being in leſs than ten years in open arms in favour of a Popiſh Pretender of the houſe of Stuart, and doing every thing in their power to ſubvert the happy conſtitution of England, both in church and ſtate. Their farther zeal in the ſame wicked cauſe, was ſhown by the alacrity with which they followed his ſtandard in 45: and no man, who is converſant with the Highland troops in the government's ſervice, but believes them at this inſtant, as zealous as ever in the old cauſe; and whatever pretenſions to merit they may have by ſerving in the Engliſh armies, they have equal demerit by near as many being in the ſervice of our enemies the FRENCH, and our no friends the DUTCH.

Whoever will read the debates on the union, will find, that it was not ſuppoſed, that as long as they retained their own laws, religion, &c. ſo different to ours, that they could be really united; but the act, as it ſtands at preſent, was looked on as an introductory to a complete union: and had it not been for the impolitic ambition of the Scotch, to rule the poor Engliſh with a rod of iron;

to

to extend the EXCISE; to cram an inadequate peace down their throats, when the Engliſh declared for war; to commit their members and other ſubjects, on the moſt trifling ſuſpicions, and treat them with greater ſeverity for a *conſtructed breach of the peace*; than had been cuſtomary for the more merciful Engliſh to treat thoſe Scotch rebels, whoſe zeal for popery, tyranny, and the Stuarts, have brought them to the GALLOWS; had it not been for theſe, the union was daily becoming more real; the Scotch had more than their ſhare of profitable employs, either in proportion to their numbers or abilities, without the leaſt murmuring. But as the Scotch ſcheme is apparently to graſp the whole power of Great-Britain, it is natural for the Engliſh to expreſs their diſapprobation; which I may venture to ſay has been done with the greateſt decency, in compariſon to what might have been expected, when their injuries and inſults are conſidered; or in compariſon to what the Scotch would themſelves have done, ſuppoſing a contemptible, upſtart, ignorant, inſolent, tyrannical Engliſhman, had been ſent to Edinburgh, veſted with the dictatorſhip, turning out all the honeſt patriots, in order to provide for a train of ſubſervient beggars, who followed power, and ſollicited office, on the moſt profligate terms; had ſuch a wretch ventured himſelf in the kingdom of Scotland, he would have been PORTEOUSED within four and twenty-hours.

From

From what I have ſubmitted, I believe it is apparent, that national prejudices are not to be eradicated by act of parliament; and the Scotch have no other foundation to ſuppoſe themſelves the ſame people with the Engliſh, but by the ſtrict letter of the law. Whether they are pleaſed to allow theſe prejudices to be virtues or vices, is of little conſequence, becauſe they have them to a greater degree than any other ſet of people in the univerſe. The only method the Scotch dictator could have purſued to have kept his inordinate power, was to have diveſted himſelf of his national attachments, and permitted the Engliſh to have had ſome ſhare in the government. But ſo far from that, he not only excluded them from all lucrative employs, but on all occaſions treated them with contempt; and ſo far from conſulting them on affairs of importance to their own country, that he gave himſelf up to the ſole direction of three inſolent Scots, whoſe fortune and abilities were equally contemptible; two of whom had even left their own country by compulſion, one for what I ſhall leave unnamed, and the other for his bad verſes; all equal temporizers, fycophants, and ſlaves to power, whoſe hearts and hands were equally ready to join in the deſtruction of a whole people, when it apparently benefitted themſelves.

I as heartily wiſh the preſent feuds to ceaſe, as any man in the three kingdoms; but as they never can, till ſome of the proud Scots are retired, I would adviſe them to ſhow their

their boaſted zeal for this country, by pulling off their BREECHES, and once more trotting about their bleak, deſart Highlands, where they may regale themſelves with oats, unabuſed and unenvied by the Engliſh, and amuſe themſelves with ſinging ſweet Fingal, and playing Agis, King of Sparta, without any man in his ſenſes intruding on their performances. B. X. P.

The CONTRAST. No. XIII.

Sep. 22, 1763.

I think our country ſinks beneath the yoke.
It weeps, it bleeds, and each new day a gaſh
Is added to her wounds. ————

MACBETH, Act IV. Scene 4.

WHoever has attended to human nature with any degree of accuracy, will have found that the moſt abandoned are the greateſt pretenders to virtue; that the greateſt paltroons and cowards never fail to talk of their heroic deeds; that a Scotch doctor, whoſe phyſical rudiments were obtained by beating in the mortar, and who compleated his ſtudies by an extenſive practice on board a coaſting veſſel, as a ſurgeon, ſhakes his empty head at a truly learned graduate from Oxford or Cambridge, and pities his not having had a proper education: even poor Hogarth prates whole nights and days in praiſe of his hiſtorical paintings, though his Sigiſmunda, and Paul before Felix, are both in being; and the Scotch dictator's penſioner, the Dictionary-

ary-maker, ſhakes his pompous mane, and roars of his independence, his candour, and integrity, but not one word of his Shakeſpear. The reaſon why men are always boaſting of qualities they are void of, proceeds from a conſciouſneſs of their own deficiency, or at leaſt, from a ſuſpicion that no body has a proper eſtimation of their imaginary qualities; ſo that it is their ſole labour to eſtabliſh them by their own declamation. On theſe principles, and the general knowledge of the falſeneſs of the Scotch, I, from the firſt, had the ſame contemptible ideas of the Scotch miniſtry, that are now confirmed by fatal experience. It may be remembered, by the few who attended to their panegyrics on themſelves, that they undertook to obtain a general coalition of parties, to conduct the ſtate with the utmoſt frugality and œconomy, to promote none but people of virtue and abilities; and alas! ſuch were there ignorance, inſolence, and arrogance, that they undertook to make a good, ſafe, and ADEQUATE peace: how theſe wonderful undertakings have been executed, I will take the liberty to ſubmit.

What was called by the Scotch miniſtry a coalition of parties, was the moſt ridiculous and abſurd of all human undertakings. It is well known, and I believe univerſally allowed, that the Whigs, even before the Revolution, were the more numerous body, and that ſince the acceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, they have been ten to one, in

 compariſon

compariſon with the Tories; that of late the Tories thought themſelves ſo inconſiderable, that the rational part of them had endeavoured to lay aſide the prejudicial diſtinction, and become partyleſs. Though this was the caſe with the generality of the Tories, yet there remained ſome half-witted bigots, who, thinking oppoſition meritorious, whether founded on good or bad principles, were ſtill zealous in oppoſing they knew not what. Their folly occaſioned their zeal, and their zeal excluded them from buſineſs, ſo that it became difficult to determine, whether the Tory remnant excelled in folly or ignorance. The method the WONDROUS-WISE SCOT took to make an EXTINCTION OF PARTY, was by turning out the moſt experienced, ſucceſsful, and unexceptionable Whig miniſtry that this kingdom was ever bleſſed with, whoſe conduct had made them darlings of the whole nation, and filling their places with theſe poor wretches, who underſtood no buſineſs but that of a toaſt-maſter, nor any laws but that of the chaſe. This was the prepoſterous method that was taken for the extinction of party, and what made it ſtill more ridiculous, was, that party had almoſt extinguiſhed itſelf, and Whig and Tory was ſcarcely ever heard of. It ſucceeded juſt as every rational man expected; the COCOA-TREE were the only people that were pleaſed; and the whole nation beſides incenſed to the greateſt degree to ſee their intereſt, their money, and their liberty, thus ſported with

by

by the Scotch dictator and his tools. Thus their method of extinction of parties ſet the whole nation in a ferment, and made all the independent Engliſh join with heart and voice in oppoſition to the Tory miniſtry; and has entailed infamy and contempt on the very name of Tory, as long as the world will remain in our language.

Their pretenſions to frugality and œconomy was an affront to the underſtanding of all mankind, and was an attempt to deceive, of that groſs and ſcandalous nature, that it was beneath the low chicanery of a MOUNTEBANK, much more a prime miniſter. The only inſtance of œconomy, was a reformation in the kitchen: however neceſſary it might have been if properly conducted, yet it was carried to that degree of meanneſs, as rendered it truly contemptible, and reduced the kitchen of the firſt prince in Europe, to a degree of inferiority to any of his opulent ſubjects. What marks the falſeneſs of their pretenſions to conduct the national affairs with any degree of frugality, was, that before the poor ſcullions had well got out of the kitchen, whereby the public was to ſave one hundred pounds a year, the lords of the bed-chamber were moſt unneceſſarily increaſed to double the number, at the expence of twenty thouſand a year. Had the poor ſcullions been either lords or commons, I make no doubt but the kitchen had been as full, in ſpite of œconomy, as the drawing-room is of hungry Scots.

I now come to a very delicate point, which is to blazon the VIRTUES of thoſe that have been promoted by the virtuous, pious, ſanctified Scot; but alas! ſuch are their virtues, that I don't think it ſafe to mention them. I therefore will leave them untold in my poor humble proſe, that the pleaſing taſk may be new, and untouched for ſome of the truly exalted Geniuſes, the Scotch heroic poets. Let the great Home, alias Hume, produce his lyre (I hope it an't grown ruſty) and tickle us up a *a pretty ditty*, and ſhow that he can ſing,

" A miniſter and wits,
" As a courſer and tits."

Or if he thinks thoſe ſprightly flights ill-ſuited to this moſt noble taſk, let him growl in that ſame harſh, grumbling coarſe, hoarſe blank verſe, by which he gained the greateſt rewards; firſt, an expulſion from his native highlands; and ſecondly, an annual penſion of ſome hundreds for his repoſo's: let him ſing another lullably; like Agis king of Sparta, let it be graced with ſuch a dainty idea as this in Douglas.

" The torrent RUSHING o'er its pebbly banks,
" Infuſes SILENCE with a STILLY ſound."

If it is wrote directly, let it be *caud* the Scotch dictator's adminiſtration, a merry comedy. If wrote hereafter, I fear it muſt be a woeful tragedy. But pardon me, my dear eſquire, or parſon, or journeyman prime miniſter, mr. John Home, alias Jack Hume, your curious idea

idea of the moſt furious roaring noiſe of a torrent's being the cauſe of ſilence, had ſo muddled my imagination, that I had forgot you was to write an ode It ſhall be entitled, *the* VIRTUES *of the Scotch miniſtry.* In imitation of a noiſe being the cauſe of ſilence, you may talk of the virtuouſneſs of being vicious; the chaſtity of adultery; the chriſtianiſm of atheiſm; and the naturalneſs of the moſt unnatural and beaſtly crimes; theſe things properly put together, which the ingenuity of the Home will undoubtedly do, will make *ſuch an ode*, as muſt charm the reader, as much as the ſiege of Aquileia, or Agis did, the CROWDED audiences. As it will doubtleſs be as good as the immortal Cibber's odes, or even the riſing Pindar, the ſpirited William Whitehead, eſq; ſo it will of courſe entitle the author to the laureatſhip, the next vacancy: Then, ye gods, how we ſhall ſing! but where are the inſtruments? where the compoſer that can do juſtice to Home's poetry? the violin nor kettle-drum has no ſilent ſounds; nor can Stanley, Smith, or Arne, compoſe a ſtilly noiſe. Not even the——'s Scotch chamber-compoſer, mr. Thing-a-me, (for no body ever heard of his name) can hum-ſtrum to ſuch poetry: even the Æolian harp, which is played on by the boiſterous winds, who are nearly connected with the ruſhing torrents, can't command a ſilent ſtilly ſound. I am thy friend, good Preſbyterian parſon, in a bag and ſword; I will therefore adviſe you well: Write as none can read, and have it ſet to ſuch *ſtilly ſounds*

that none can hear, and then, and not till then, you may paſs for an excellent poet.

As chriſtianity teaches meakneſs, ſo I am certain of forgiveneſs from the editor of Bolingbroke's pious poſthumous works, or elſe I ſhould have thought it neceſſary to have aſked the great Mallock's pardon, for giving an office to Home, which he may ſo reaſonably expect. But as good works carry their own reward, I don't doubt but the author of Elvira, who ſacrificed at the ſhrine of Bute in a dedication, as remarkable for Engliſh and elegance, as for rigid truth, and for the juſt panegyric in the play on the glorious, Scotch, ſix months peace, has been rewarded, not according to his works, for that would have been with a halter, but with a PENSION. I therefore hope he'll excuſe my promoting the Home, to the reverſion of the Laureat.

As I have left the virtues of the Scotch miniſtry to be ſung, inſtead of attempting to relate them myſelf, I have nothing left but to conſider the good, ſafe, and adequate peace; for which I muſt beg my reader's patience till ſome other time, as the paper of to-day has already exceeded my common bounds.

B. X. P.

The

The CONTRAST. No. XIV.

Sept. 28.

——————*Quis talia fando*
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles, Ulyſſi
Temperat a lacrymis! VIRG.

To the PUBLIC.

THE news-papers having omitted the following valuable articles of intelligence, the author of the Contraſt takes the liberty of preſenting them to his brother politicians; they may be depended upon as much as many news-paper ſtories, he having collected them at great pains and expence; and has the honour to be his readers moſt obedient ſervant. B. X. P.

The WONDERFUL INTELLIGENCER.

WEDNESDAY, September 28, 1763.

Paris, September 20.

OUR works of PEACE are carried on with the greateſt diligence, in particular we have finiſhed and put into commiſſion twenty-four ſhips of the line, and have fifty more on the ſtocks; they are deſtined to keep the ocean pacific.

Berlin, Sept. 11. Our ſovereign, who is a REAL admirer of the preſent Engliſh-Scotch miniſtry, intends to compliment their SAFE and ADEQUATE PEACE, by raiſing an army of 300,000 men: —— *Theſe, we ſuppoſe, muſt be deſigned for peace officers.*

Hague,

Hague, Sept. 22. A conſultation of civilians was lately held; the point to be determined was, "What was the beſt method to keep peace with the Engliſh," when the whole body were of opinion, that the moſt effectual way was, to cut their throats. In conſequence of which we ſhall join in the CUT-THROAT COMPACT, vulgarly called the FAMILY COMPACT.

Bruſſels, Sept. 19. Letters from Paris ſay, that the grand monarch, with his uſual politeneſs, has promiſed not to invade England till all the country addreſſes, of London manufacture, on the adequate glorious peace, are publiſhed in the Gazette.

LONDON.

The rejoicings on the happy coalition of parties, by adding ſo many illuſtrious and TRIED patriots to the preſent popular miniſtry, was, and ſtill is, inexpreſſible: the huzzas, like that great poet Home's TORRENT, had a very *ſtilly ſound*, and their ſhouts, on hearing that mr. Pitt had been ſo 'mercenary as to refuſe a place of *great profit*, 'infuſed ſilence' through the whole city; the Royal Exchange rung to that degree, that you might have heard a mouſe ſtir. All true Engliſhmen wept, *with exceſs of joy doubtleſs.*

Many of the preſent ſtop-gaps having never been heard of before, we hear that a deſcription of their perſons, lives, characters, and behaviour, is in the preſs, and will ſpeedily be publiſhed. *If it gives rational reaſons for their promotions, it will be an ingenious book.*

We

We hear that the Heralds work double tides in making grandfathers, and other anceſtors, for ſome of the new miniſtry.

The inſurance on the preſent miniſtry round the year, which was done at 99l. 19s. 11d. three-farthings per cent. is now refuſed at that price, the inſurers looking on it as flinging a farthing away.

Count Bruhl, the unpopular miniſter of Saxony, having heard how much the Auditor and Briton contributed to the preſent popularity of the once odious Scot, has ſent for them to write him into vogue.

It is ſaid that mr. Stevens, and the other worthies who attended a noble lord on ſeveral public occaſions laſt year, are engaged to attend the above count at his public entry into Dreſden.

A *ne exeat regnum* has been iſſued to prevent mr. Stevens's departure, as a certain great man han't quite done with him.

The report that has for ſome days prevailed, of the grand penſioner, the Tory dictionary-maker, and author of the intended edition of Shakeſpear, having had his wig combed, and face waſhed, is, we can aſſure the public, quite groundleſs, no ſuch thing having happened for ſome years paſt.

The other report, that this gentleman had turned WHIG, is equally falſe, and proceeded from the following accident; a devil, *i. e.* a printer's boy, having called on the penſioner, and found him in his WIG, the wrong ſide outwards, which is the penſioner's delicate

method

method of making a night-cap, the boy inadvertently reported, " *that he had turned his* " *wig*," without farther explanation; ſo that it was generally underſtood he had changed his principles; but we, from good authority, can aſſert, that this worthy gentleman ſtill deteſts the Whigs as much as when he made that rational and uſeful obſervation, that " Whiggiſm and Atheiſm were ſynonymous terms." Leſt ſome of our readers, who are not very learned, ſhould be at a loſs to ſee the ſimilitude between the Whigs and Atheiſts, we will explain it by a more familiar inſtance; they are as like to each other, as a moſt enormous pair of jack-boots are to a tanzy pudding, or as the penſioner's day-wig night cap, is to a firſt rate man of war under ſail.

We hear that the Dictator ſits to mr. Reynolds for his picture: this is a true inſtance of condeſcenſion and regard to the Engliſh, to let ſo poor a painter do his SENSIBLE FACE, while the great Ramſay, the king's painter, lives, who is allowed to be as ſuperior to Reynolds in the art, as a ſparrow is in bulk to an oſtrich.

The above is an emblematical picture, and is deſigned to be hung up in the king's kitchen, in memory of the reformation in the ſcullery. The Dictator ſtands erect, with one foot on the neck of Britannia, and the other on a ſtarved turnſpit, repreſenting the glorious abolition of the old Engliſh, hoggiſh cuſtom, of eating roaſt meat: in one hand he has a large bundle of addreſſes on the peace, and

an

an iron rammer, with which he is a-going to cram them down Britannia's throat; in the other hand he has a cat-o'-nine-tails, with which he flogs poor Britannia: on one of the tails is wrote "the CYDER ACT," on the others, "the exciſe extended, commitment of MEMBERS, Scotch preferments, œconomy, peace, the laſt loan, &c. &c." on one ſide is an old lion, fainting under a load of Highlanders; on the other ſide, a number of people writing, and wrote over the door, "the addreſs-making office in here:" on the back of the picture are ſeveral emblematical figures, repreſenting the bleſſings of peace: among others, the Indians ſcalping the Engliſh; public credit on crutches, and a Scotchman tripping up his heels; exciſemen breaking into private houſes; mobs ſo incenſed as to commit the greateſt outrages; patience and decency in fits, &c. &c. in the diſtance is an unfiniſhed ſketch, it is wrote over "the CONCLUSION," what it means we can't ſay, but it has a good deal the appearance of Tower-hill, when the rebel Scots were beheaded: in one part of the picture is the unicorn fat and ſleek, loaded with money, and kicking down and prancing over the Engliſh by hundreds: in the clouds are the guardian angels of England and Ireland, loaded with axes and halters. The picture, inſtead of being ornamented with books or trophies, the emblems of literature and arms, is decorated with cloſe-ſtools, haggies, oatmeal, brimſtone, and bagpipes.

Yeſterday

Yeſterday arrived in town from France, ſir M'Intoſh Kenmure, bart. of the kingdom of Scotland; he is an officer of great experience, having been in both the Scotch rebellions, and at other times, in the ſervice of France, ſo that he may be juſtly eſteemed a valuable addition to our army. He directly waited on the Dictator, was moſt graciouſly received, and had the honour to kiſs his rump. He is remarkably attached to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

From the above gentleman we hear, that tho' mr. Wilkes was ſo paultry, that he would not go out with capt. Forbes to be murdered; yet things are ſo well contrived, that he will be taken care of ſtill.

Saturday laſt, being the birth-day of that valiant and experienced officer, capt. maſter Tommy Elliot, who entered into the 9th year of his age, the officers of the corps were invited *to play at marbles* with his honour; and all the common men had a *paper of ſugar-plumbs.*

We hear that maſter Jockey Elliot, capt. Tommy's youngeſt brother, will be called to the bar next term, and in Eaſter term will be called within the bar. *The early days that theſe pretty babes enter life, is a real inſtance of true Scotch zeal for their country!*

A certain great Scot, who declared he hoped it would be put on his monument, when dead, that he was the maker of the PEACE, has now ſo great a ſhare of modeſty, that he won't ſuffer, if he can help it, this glorious work to be mentioned while he LIVES. 'Tis

'Tis ſaid, that an act will be paſſed to make it felony without benefit of clergy, to write or ſpeak againſt the Scotch miniſtry.

We hear that a tool has brought an action againſt the author of a political paper, for aſſerting that he was worth 20,000l. 'Tis to be hoped that this public ſpirited method will put a ſtop to ſuch wicked malevolent reports, as nothing can be ſo injurious to any man, as to be ſuppoſed worth 20,000l.

COUNTRY NEWS.

Edinburgh, Aug. 28. As ſoon as the expreſs arrived with the account that the valiant capt. Forbes had aſſaſſinated col. Wilkes, the great event was made known by the firing of the Caſtle guns, the bells rung, and the evening concluded with illuminations, bonfires, and other demonſtrations of joy.

On this happy occaſion, the P—— gave a grand entertainment, when the following loyal toaſts were drank:

Earl Bute.

The patriotic, capt. Forbes.

The Diſſenting intereſt, and a repeal of the Teſt.

Succeſs to the North Britons.

The king.

George Grenville, of the Inner Temple, eſq; and the able ſir Francis ———.

Extenſion of Exciſe.

Confuſion to mr. Pitt, lord Temple, duke of Newcaſtle, and lord chief juſtice Pratt, &c. &c.

We hear from Glaſgow, that the like rejoicings were made there, and that they will preſent capt. Forbes with the freedom of that city, in a moſt elegant, carved, and gilt cloſe-ſtool.

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